THE

PORTUGUESE IN INDIA.

THE PORTUGUESE IN INDIA

BEING A

HISTORY OF THE RISE AND DECLINE

OF THEIR

EASTERN EMPIRE.

BY

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Dedicated

TO THE MEMORY OF

PRINCE HENRY OF PORTUGAL

(SURNAMED THE NAVIGATOR),

WHO, BY DEVOTING A LIFE OF INDOMITABLE PERSEVERANCE

AND SELF-DENYING ENERGY

TO THE INTERESTS OF HIS COUNTRY,

LAID THE FOUNDATION FOR THOSE GEOGRAPHICAL RESEARCHES

WHICH CULMINATED, IN THE REIGN OF DOM MANOEL,

IN THE DISCOVERY OF THE BRAZILS

AND OF THE ROUTE TO INDIA BY THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,

ACHIEVEMENTS WHICH NOT ONLY RAISED PORTUGAL

TO A PINNACLE OF FAME,

AND PLACED HER FOREMOST AMONGST THE KINGDOMS OF THE EARTH

IN POWER AND WEALTH,

BUT IMMENSELY STIMULATED THE SPIRIT OF ENTERPRISE

AMONG ALL THE CONTEMPORARY NATIONS OF THE CIVILISED WORLD

THE PRESENT WORK

IS A HUMBLE CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS THE

COMMEMORATION OF THE FIVE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE BIRTH OF THAT ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE,

WHICH EVENT HAS RECENTLY BEEN

CELEBRATED IN SO ENTHUSIASTIC AND AUSPICIOUS A MANNER

IN THE LAND OF HIS NATIVITY

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INTRODUCTION.

The movements of trade from the East to the West must have been coeval with the migrations in that direction of the earliest ancestors of our race. In process of time, and as the more distant westward parts of the extensive continent of the Eastern Hemisphere were reached, this commerce developed into the great and important Indo-European trade of the present day.

Chaldæa undoubtedly owed its wealth and influence to the trade from the East which passed through that country, and, according to certain Chinese historians, as interpreted by Pauthier, there was a direct personal communication by the Chaldæans with China so early as the 24th century B.C. This communication was, no doubt, entirely by land, as were also the principal trade routes in much later times. The legend of the arrival of the fish-god "Ea-Han," or "Oannes," in Chaldæa, probably refers to the first advent to that country of trading people from the East by sea and the Persian Gulf.

The position of Chaldæa rendered that country peculiarly favourable to commerce. Situated at the head of the Persian Gulf, and intersected by the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, it was admirably adapted for easy commercial intercourse with Persia, India, and Ceylon on the one hand, and with Arabia Felix, Asia Minor, Palestine, Ethiopia,

and Egypt on the other. In his migration from Ur of the Chaldees, Abraham undoubtedly followed a well-established trade route. Haran was at this time a great centre of trade, lying, as it did, immediately in the highway between Arrapachitis and Canaan, at a point where that highway was crossed by the great western road connecting Media, Assyria, and Babylonia with the Cilician coast. Babylon and Nineveh both owed their greatness principally to the fact of their being entrepôts of trade passing from the East to the West.

At the dawn of history the Indo-European trade was carried on by the Arabians and Phœnicians; the former in the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, and Indian Ocean, and the latter in the Mediterranean. Between the Red Sea and Persian Gulf routes, there existed a continual rivalry, and on the Red Sea there was also a sharp competition for the trade between the Gulf of Akaba and the Gulf of Suez. Whilst the Arabs, in a great measure, maintained their portion of the trade until the discovery of the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope, the Phœnicians and their Colonies were forced to succumb to the rivalry of Assyria, Greece, and Rome. The principal trading stations of the Phœnicians were Tyre and Sidon, from which ports their commerce was distributed along the coasts of the Mediterranean. The distance from the Arabian Gulf to Tyre was, however, so considerable, and the conveyance of goods thither by land carriage so tedious and expensive, that the Phœnicians at a later date took possession of Rhinokoloura (El Arish), the nearest port in the Mediterranean to the Arabian Gulf, to which place all the commodities brought from India by the Red Sea were conveyed overland, and were transported thence by an easy navigation to Tyre,

and distributed throughout Europe. The wealth that the merchants of Tyre enjoyed by reason of this trade incited the Israelites to embark on a similar enterprise during the reigns of David and Solomon. By extending his possessions in the land of Edom, King David obtained possession of the harbours of Elath and Eziongeber on the Red Sea, whence, with the assistance of Hiram, King of Tyre, King Solomon dispatched fleets which, under the guidance of Phœnician pilots, sailed to Tarshish and Ophir, securing thereby a control over the trade of the eastern coast of Africa, and, no doubt, a not inconsiderable portion of the maritime trade with India brought to the Red Sea by Arab vessels. By the establishment of "Tadmor in the Wilderness," Solomon was also enabled to command a not inconsiderable portion of the Eastern trade that found its way up the Euphrates river from the Persian Gulf, as it passed towards the shores of the Mediterranean Sea.

In course of time, Tyre sent out colonists who established themselves on the southern coasts of the Mediterranean, and founded the city of Carthage, which soon rose to considerable importance as a great trading mart; and, when the glory of Tyre began to decline, Carthage was in the zenith of her commercial prosperity and greatness. Byzantium, a Greek settlement, happily situated at the terminus of the great caravan system, by which it was placed in communication with the Ganges and with China, at an early date also became an entrepôt for the commerce of the known world.

With the rise of the Macedonian power, under Alexander the Great, the monopoly of the Eastern trade passed from the hands of the Phœnicians. The capture of Sidon and destruction of Tyre were the death blows to the commercial

prosperity of that enterprising race. Alexander next made himself master of Egypt, where he founded the city of Alexandria, to serve as a commercial port on the Mediterranean for the Eastern trade that passed up the Red Sea.

Although the profits arising from the Indian trade had now for so many years brought wealth to those who had embarked in it, practically nothing was known of India itself, to the European nations, until the invasion of that country by Alexander the Great. One consequence of this invasion, however, beyond the knowledge thus acquired, was a considerable development of Indo-European commerce, and, although the Indian conquests threw off the Macedonian yoke soon after Alexander's death some, of the results that followed therefrom did not so readily disappear. On the death of Alexander, Egypt fell to the Ptolemies, under whom arts, commerce, manufactures, agriculture, and navigation obtained a most extraordinary development, and Alexandria became the first mart in the world About this time, the trade with India began to revive at Tyre, and in order to bring it to centre in Alexandria, Ptolemy Philadelphus set about the formation of a canal, a hundred cubits in breadth, and thirty cubits in depth, between Arsinoe on the Red Sea, near the modern Suez, and the Pelusiac, or eastern, branch of the Nile, by means of which the productions of India might have been conveyed to that capital wholly by water. This canal was, however, never finished, presumably on account of the dangers that then attended the navigation of the Arabian Gulf. As an alternative means of facilitating communication with India, Ptolemy Philadelphus built a city on the western shore of the Red Sea, to which he gave the name of Berenike, which soon became the principal emporium

of the trade with India. From Berenike the goods were carried by land to Koptos, a city three miles distant from the Nile, but which had a communication with that river by means of a navigable canal, and thence carried down the stream to Alexandria. In this channel the intercourse between the East and West continued to be carried on during two hundred and fifty years. The Indian trading ships, sailing from Berenike, took their course along the Arabian shore to the promontory Syagros (Ras-Fartak), whence they followed the coast of Persia, either to Pattala (Tatta) at the head of the lower delta of the Indus, or to some other emporium on the west coast of India

Egypt, by the superiority of her naval forces, held the undisputed control of the Indian trade, and that portion of it which had been formerly carried up the Persian Gulf, and thence by the old trade routes along the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, ceased to be conveyed in that direction in anything like the same proportions as before. The commodities destined for the supply of the more northern provinces were conveyed on camels from the banks of the Indus to the Oxus river, down which they were carried to the Caspian Sea, and distributed, partly by land carriage and partly by navigable rivers, through the different countries bounded on the one hand by the Caspian, and on the other by the Black Sea.

During this period, Carthaginian vessels were largely occupied in the conveyance of Indian products from Alexandria to the different ports in the Mediterranean, and, beyond the pillars of Hercules, to the western coast of the Iberian peninsula. But the Roman Empire was now rising to power, and desired to possess itself of that

wealth which followed an enjoyment of a monopoly of the Eastern trade. Carthage waged a long struggle with her ambitious neighbour for the retention of that trade, but she had, in the end, to yield to the superior power of her rival, and the Punic wars at length sealed her doom. Subsequently, Egypt was annexed to the Roman Empire, and reduced to the form of a Roman province by Augustus. The importance of Alexandria as a mart for the Eastern trade was fully recognised by the new conquerors of Egypt. That trade continued to be carried on in the same manner as before, and increased to an extraordinary extent under the powerful influence of Rome, whose citizens soon acquired a taste for the products of India. At the time of the conquest of Syria by Rome, there existed also a large Eastern trade by way of the Euphrates, from the Persian Gulf, and Tadmor—then better known by its Greek name of Palmyra—was a place of great wealth and importance; and by this route also Rome carried on a not inconsiderable trade in commodities of Eastern production.

It was not, so far as is at present known, until some eighty years after the conquest of Egypt by Rome, that any important change was made in the trade route from the Red Sea to India. About this time Hippalus, the commander of a ship engaged in the Indian trade, having made careful observation of the regular shifting of the periodical winds, venturing to relinquish the slow and circuitous coasting route along the Arabian and Persian coasts, struck out boldly from the mouth of the Arabian Gulf across the ocean, and was carried by the western monsoon to Mouziris, a town on the western coast of India, supposed to have occupied the site of Cranganore (Kranganur

or Kadungalur) on the coast of Cochin. The following account is given by Pliny of the ordinary route to India after this discovery :—"From Alexandria to Juliopolis is two miles; there the cargo destined for India is embarked on the Nile, and is carried to Koptos, which is distant three hundred and three miles, and the voyage is usually accomplished in twelve days. From Koptos goods are conveyed to Berenike on the Arabian Gulf, halting at different stations regulated according to the conveniency of watering. The distance between those cities is two hundred and fifty-eight miles. On account of the heat, the caravan travels only during the night, and the journey is finished on the twelfth day. From Berenike ships take their departure about midsummer, and in thirty days reach Okelis (Gella), at the mouth of the Arabian Gulf, or Kane (Ras-Fartak) on the coast of Arabia Felix. Thence they sail in forty days to Mouziris, the first emporium in India. They begin their voyage homewards early in the Egyptian month Thibi, which answers to our December; they sail with a north-east wind, and when they enter the Arabian Gulf meet with a south, or south-west wind, and thus complete the voyage in less than a year."

It is not certain whether the vessels that sailed from Berenike at this period extended their voyages beyond Mouziris or other ports on the Malabar coast, but it is stated, by the author of "The Circumnavigation of the Erythræan Sea," that the inhabitants of the Coromandel coast traded in vessels of their own with those of Malabar; that the interior trade of Barygaza (Broach) was considerable; and that there was, at all seasons, a number of country ships to be found in the harbour of Mouziris. Strabo also mentions that the most valuable productions

of Taprobane (Ceylon) were carried to different emporiums of India. Thus the traders from Egypt might have been supplied with them without having to extend their voyages beyond Mouziris.

Little seems to have been learned regarding India, beyond what hearsay information might have been brought home by the Egyptian sailors, until the reign of the Emperor Justinian, when Kosmos, surnamed Indikopleustes, an Egyptian merchant of the seventh century, in the course of his traffic, made some voyages to India, and subsequently wrote an account of his experience of that country. He described the western coast of India as being the chief seat of the pepper trade, and mentioned Taprobane as being a great place of trade, to which were imported the silk of the Sinæ and the precious spices of the Eastern countries, which were conveyed thence to all parts of India, to Persia, and to the Arabian Gulf Kosmos also mentions that the Persians, having overthrown the Parthian Empire, and re-established the line of their ancient monarchs, took now an active interest in the Eastern trade, and all the considerable ports of India were frequented by their traders, who, in exchange for the productions of their own country, received the spices and precious stones of India, which they conveyed up the Persian Gulf, and, by means of the Euphrates and Tigris, distributed them through every province of their Empire.

After the death of Justinian, an important change took place in connection with the Indo-European trade. Egypt was one of the earliest conquests of the Muhammadans, and as the Arabs settled themselves in that country, and kept possession of it, the Greeks were excluded from all intercourse with Alexandria, to which port they had long

resorted as the chief mart for Indian goods. Previously to their invasion of Egypt, the Arabians had subdued Persia, and monopolised the Indian trade of that country; and, not content with carrying it on as before, they advanced far beyond the boundaries of ancient navigation, and brought many of the most precious commodities of the East directly from the countries which produced them. In order more completely to engross all the profits arising from this trade, the Caliph Omar, soon after the conquest of Persia, founded the city of Bussora, at the head of the Persian Gulf, on the western bank of the stream formed by the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, with the view of securing the command of these two rivers, by which goods imported from India were conveyed for distribution to all parts of Europe; and Bussora soon became a place of trade hardly inferior to Alexandria.

When the control of the Eastern trade thus fell into the hands of the Arabs, Alexandria became practically closed to Europeans, and the trading towns on the Mediterranean ceased to be supplied with articles of Eastern commerce. In order to meet their demands, therefore, an alternative channel of communication had to be opened up; the silk of China was purchased in Chen-si, the westernmost province of that Empire, and conveyed thence by caravan to the banks of the Oxus, where it was embarked, and carried down the stream of that river to the Caspian. After crossing that sea, it was taken up the River Cyprus as far as navigable, and was then conducted by a short land carriage to the River Phasis, which falls into the Euxine, or Black, Sea. Thence, by an easy and well-known course, it was transported to Constantinople. The commodities of India proper were

received at the banks of the Indus, whence they were conveyed by the old trade-route channels either to the River Oxus or directly to the Caspian, whence they followed the above-mentioned course to Constantinople. By this means Constantinople became a considerable mart of Indian and Chinese commodities.

During the ascendency of the Roman power, Rome became the centre of commerce from all parts of the world; but when southern and western Europe was over-run by hordes of barbarians, and Constantine had removed to Byzantium, and made that place the seat of his power, the downfall of Rome with the western Roman Empire marked a distinct epoch in commercial as well as in political history. Constantinople now became the principal centre of commerce between the East and the West; and from that city a considerable trade arose along the Mediterranean coasts with Spain, Africa, and the Republics of Italy; whilst a direct land trade with northern and western Europe was carried on by the Avars, a people inhabiting the Danubian provinces.

When the power of the Roman Empire was passing away, the inhabitants of that part of Italy since known as Venetian Lombardy, driven by Alaric to seek refuge in the small islands of the Adriatic, near the mouth of the Brenta, turned their attention exclusively to commercial pursuits, and, by the close of the tenth century, had so far increased in prosperity and power as to form themselves into an independent Republic. From that period the Venetians carried on a most important commercial intercourse with other nations, and exercised, as a trading people, more influence than any other country had done before them. Genoa, which had existed as a Roman

municipium as early as the time of the second Punic war, and Pisa followed Venice in rising to eminence as commercial States, and at the time of the Crusades they vied with each other in supplying vessels to convey the Crusaders to the Holy Land. The Venetians, over and above their freight charges, stipulated for the privilege of establishing factories in any place where the arms of the Crescent were replaced by those of the Cross.

After the fall of Constantinople, Venice procured for herself the general lordship over Greece, and of the towns of Heraclea, Adrianople, Gallipoli, Patras, and Durazzo, which greatly increased the wealth and influence of that Republic, and left it almost without a rival in the waters of the Levant. It had also brought under subjection the people inhabiting the shores of the Adriatic, and obtained from Pope Alexander III. an admission of its claim to dominion over them. Venice now carried on at Constantinople a trade in Eastern products, from which she derived enormous profits. But the Byzantine Emperor, growing jealous of the increasing power of the Venetians, caused them to be driven out of Constantinople, and assigned to Genoa and Pisa a portion of that town for purposes of trade.

Owing to the hostile rivalry of the Venetians and Genoese for the Byzantine trade, many of the German towns, formerly supplied through the Italian marts, found it more convenient to open direct communication with Constantinople, and thus a chain of commercial stations extended from Constantinople to the German Ocean, of which the principal were Vienna, Ratisbon, Ulm, Augsburg and Nuremberg.

After being ejected from Constantinople, the Venetians

turned their attention to Egypt, through which country they established a regular commerce with the East, from the ports of Alexandria and Rosetta, and they soon succeeded in monopolising the Eastern trade. From Egypt, separate fleets were sent to Constantinople and the Euxine, visiting Kaffa and the Gulf of Alexandretta; another traded with Spain and Portugal; a third with France; whilst a fourth connected the seaports of France, England, and Holland, with the great commercial city of Bruges The internal traffic with Germany and Italy was encouraged with equal care, Oriental produce arriving from Constantinople and Egypt, and many other commodities being distributed, at first by way of Carinthia, and afterwards of the Tyrol.

The Genoese, having obtained exclusive privileges of trade, and permission to form settlements at Galata and Pera, contributed in no small degree to a revival of the commerce of the Byzantine Empire. They soon monopolised the whole trade of the Black Sea, and secured for themselves the produce of the inland caravan trade with the far East. For the better promotion of their trade, the Genoese established colonies in the Levant, on the shores of the Black Sea, and along the banks of the Euphrates. The usurpations of these people, however, at last induced the Byzantine Government to call in the aid of the Venetians and of the Turks, by whom they were finally expelled, and the power of Genoa in the East began to wane before that of Venice, who now became mistress of the Eastern trade.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century the commercial prosperity of Venice began to decline. Driven back by the advance of the Turks in Europe, to whom the

Venetians were forced to yield their Oriental trading stations, their various channels of intercourse with India were successively closed, and, after the capture of Constantinople, the Republic was left with only an intermittent trade through Alexandria, which was subject to the caprice of the Mameluke rulers of Egypt, and was also under the ban of the Pope. In addition to this, Venice became involved in ceaseless struggles with Lombardy, the Romagna, and Naples. But the final blow to her Eastern trade was struck by the discovery by Portugal of the Cape route to India, when Portuguese ships were enabled to bring home the various products of the East far more cheaply than by the former route through Egypt.

In the following pages an endeavour has been made to trace, *seriatim*, all the principal events connected with the rise of the Portuguese Nation, and with the development and decline of their Eastern Empire. It is not necessary to enlarge further on the principal topic of the work in this introduction, beyond stating that it aspires to be nothing more than a compilation from various Portuguese and Spanish publications, amplified from published and some unpublished records of the Portuguese Government relating to India; from English publications and records of the East India Company; and in a few instances from Dutch publications and records. It must not be supposed that within the limited compass of two volumes the history of the Portuguese in India could be dealt with in an exhaustive manner. A history extending over four hundred years, filled with stirring events of discovery, trade, conquest, and defeat, might well claim a small library to itself for a full account of the events that occurred within that period in connection with the Portu-

guese and with India. The present publication aspires to nothing more comprehensive than a brief narrative or sketch of the subject dealt with, which will, it is hoped, help to fill up a gap in the history of an enterprising and interesting race.

The literature on the subject of the Portuguese in connection with India is very extensive. In 1880 Mr. A. C. Burnell compiled a catalogue of works on the subject, which was printed at Mangalore, containing the names of some hundreds of authors, the works of many of whom have been published in more than one language. As might naturally have been expected, the majority of these wrote in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and before the decadence of the Portuguese power in the East.

The causes of the decline of Portuguese influence in India and the further East have formed the subject of numerous essays and disquisitions, but a careful consideration of the whole question can but lead to the conclusions: (1), that their position in the East never had in it the elements of permanent empire; and (2), that the loss of the positions they once held was due to a combination of circumstances over which the Portuguese, as a nation, could exercise but little control.

Dom Francisco de Almeida, the first Viceroy, contemplated only the establishment of factories in India, and the maintenance of commercial relations with that country, much in the same way that the Arabs held the control of the Eastern trade when the Portuguese first found out the sea-route to India. These views were, however, not held by his successor, Affonso de Albuquerque, who thought to found a great Portuguese Empire in the East, and laid considerable stress upon the importance of erect-

ing forts wherever he founded a factory, not only for the protection of the trade on shore, but to enable him to dominate the native rulers, whom he invariably endeavoured to coerce into acknowledging Portugal as a suzerain power. Dom Francisco de Almeida, on the other hand, was opposed to the erection of many forts, as well as to the endeavour to establish direct government in the East. His views in this respect were based upon the argument that, owing to the small population of Portugal, it would be impossible for that nation to furnish men in sufficient quantities adequately to occupy so many positions. For the same reasons he opposed the idea of being able to establish a Portuguese dominion in Asia, and held that the most efficient protection of the factories on land would be secured by the Portuguese fleets establishing a decided supremacy by sea. Dom Francisco de Almeida thus explained his views on this subject in a letter he addressed to King Dom Manoel:—

"With respect to the fortress of Quilon, the greater number of fortresses you hold the weaker will be your power. Let all our forces be on the sea, because if we should not be powerful at sea (which the Lord forbid), everything will at once be against us, and if the King of Cochin should desire to be disloyal, he would be at once destroyed, because our past wars were waged with animals. Now we have wars with the Venetians and the Turks of the Sultan. And as regards the King of Cochin, I have already written to your Highness that it would be well to have a strong castle in Cranganore on a passage of the river which goes to Calicut, because it would hinder the transport by that way of a single peck of pepper. With the force we have at sea we will discover what these new

enemies may be, for I trust in the mercy of God that He will remember us, since all the rest is of little importance. Let it be known for certain that as long as you may be powerful at sea you will hold India as yours, and if you do not possess this power, little will avail you a fortress on shore. And as to expelling the Moors from the country, I have found the right way to do it, but it is a long story, and it will be done when the Lord pleases and will thus be served."

Albuquerque, on the other hand, who in this, as in other matters, appears to have been a close imitator of Alexander the Great, had more ambitious views of establishing an empire in the East. But owing to the comparative smallness of the resources at his command, he could at no time bring more than a few hundreds of men together to maintain his position at any point, as compared with the numerous thousands whom Alexander led to conquest. The circumstances, however, of the two conquerors were vastly different. Whereas Alexander's base of operations was on land, and he had therefore to secure his rear by establishing fortified posts as he advanced, the Portuguese had the sea as their base of operations, and a like need did not therefore exist in their case for similar precautions against attack. Albuquerque, in an exhortation to his soldiers at the attack of Malacca, in 1511, declared that so long as he was Governor of India he would neither fight nor hazard men on land, except in those parts wherein he should build a fortress to maintain them. His policy in this respect was perhaps most fully explained in a letter he wrote to the King of Portugal upon the retention of Goa, dated in 1513. In this letter he observed as follows:

"And I hold it to be free from doubt, that if fortresses be built in Diu and Calicut (as I trust in our Lord they will be), when once they have been well fortified, if a thousand of the Sultan's ships were to make their way to India, not one of those places could be brought again under his dominion. But if those of your Council understood Indian affairs as I do, they would not fail to be aware that your Highness cannot be lord over so extensive a territory as India by placing all your power and strength in the navy only (a policy at once doubtful and full of serious inconveniences); for this, and not to build fortresses, is the very thing which the Moors of these lands wish you to do, for they know well that a dominion founded on a navy alone cannot last, and they desire to live on their own estates and property, and to carry their spices to the ancient and customary markets which they maintain, but they are unwilling to be subjects of your Highness, neither will they trade nor be on friendly terms with you. And if they will not have any of these things, how is it likely that they will be pleased to see us establishing ourselves in this city of Goa, and strengthening its defences, and your Highness lord of so important a port and bar as this is, and not labour with all their might to hinder us from accomplishing our intentions? And if it seem a hard matter to those who have written about this to your Highness, that the recovery of Goa should have been so many times attempted, how much harder must it have been to gain the country from so powerful a sovereign as the King of Bijapur, lord of so many armies, who is not likely to refrain from straining every nerve to recover the possession of it and striking a decisive blow at our prestige, if he could do so? And whenever any one of his

Captains shall come up against this city, are we to surrender it immediately without first of all measuring our forces against him? If this be so, your Highness may as well leave India to the Moors, than seek to maintain your position therein with such extraordinary outlays and expenses on the navy, in ships as rotten as cork, only kept afloat by four pumps in each of them."

In a previous letter, of the 1st April, 1512, Albuquerque had also dwelt upon this subject as follows:—

"If it be the wish of our Lord to dispose the commerce of India in such a manner that the goods and wealth contained in her should be forwarded to you year by year in your squadrons, I do not believe that in all Christendom there will be so rich a King as your Highness, and therefore, do I urge you, Senhor, to strenuously support this affair of India with men and arms, and strengthen your hold in her, and securely establish your dealings and your factories; and that you wrest the wealth of India and business from the hands of the Moors, and this by good fortresses, gaining the principal places of business of the Moors, and withdrawing from great expenses, and you will secure your hold on India, and draw out all the benefit and wealth there is in her, and let this be done at once. . . And furthermore do I say that, for effecting treaties with India, and for the establishment of factories, such as are necessary for your service, without warfare, and for India to take her stand, and for the places where there may be merchandise to admit our treaties and companies, for three years I would keep three thousand men there, well armed and with every equipment for erecting fortresses, and many arms, and my reasons for thinking so are as follows:—

"From those places where merchandise may be had, and which are frequented by Moorish merchants, we cannot obtain precious stones or spices by good means; if we would take them by force and against their will, it will be necessary to make war upon them, and in the said place for two or three years we shall be unable to derive any benefit; but if they see us with a large force of men, they honour us, and it does not enter their hearts to deceive us or cheat, but will give us of their merchandise and take of ours without war, and they will give up the mistaken notion that they will oust us from India; and does your Highness know what is the way of the Moors here? When I arrive at their ports here with the fleet, their principal care is to find out the number of our men, what arms we carry, and if they find that our forces are too great to contend with theirs, then they receive us with a welcome and give us of their merchandise and take ours with right goodwill; but if they perceive us to be weak and our number small, believe me, Senhor, that they await the last decision and oppose themselves to all that may occur better than any other people I have ever seen; this has been done in Urmuz and Malacca and every other place where I have been. . . .

"And this, Senhor, which I here state to your Highness, will subsist in India so long as they do not see in your power the principal forces of the country, and good strongholds, or a power of men to keep them at peace, and by this manner will the traffic of merchandise be effected in India without warfare and so many quarrels. Once again I repeat, that if you wish to avoid war in India, and be at peace with all her Kings, you must send a power of men and good arms, or you must take the

principal heads of the kingdom which she possesses on the shores of the Sea."

It is clear that Albuquerque entertained most ambitious designs of founding an empire in the East, and of subjugating all the numerous petty Kings who held rule along the coasts of India. One cannot but admire the boldness of so small a nation as Portugal, with a population at that period probably not much exceeding a million souls, aspiring with a few shiploads of traders and soldiers to subdue the combined millions of India and Arabia; and, although their attempt can hardly be said to have been crowned with complete success, they came nearer to the accomplishment of their object than their most devout admirers and well-wishers could reasonably have anticipated; but the forces at their command were never sufficient to inspire sufficient confidence in themselves, or terror to their opponents.

The Portuguese had to compete for trade with the Arabs, who, for several hundred years, had carried on a commerce with the East as peaceful traders, to the mutual advantage of the native rulers and of themselves. In their intercourse with the natives of India, the Arabs had established a strong bond of union which it was necessary to break down before the Portuguese could hope to replace their predecessors in the possession of the Eastern trade, and so lucrative was this trade that they were not likely to abandon it without a violent struggle. Two methods lay open to the Portuguese for the accomplishment of this object; the one was by successful competition, and the other by force. The principle of peaceful commercial rivalry was, however, not yet understood, and the latter alternative was therefore adopted in order to dispossess the Arabs of

their long-established trade. In the struggle for supremacy the Arabs fought to the death, and they were strongly supported in their cause by the Grand Turk and the Soldan of Cairo, both of whom were deeply interested in preventing the trade of India from being diverted from its long-established channels through their respective territories. The Arabs, whose trade was a source of considerable profit to the native rulers of India, also intrigued with those Princes for the exclusion of the Portuguese from their territories. In this they were in many cases for a time successful, and with none to a greater extent than with the Zamorin of Calicut, then the most powerful potentate of the Malabar Coast. The capture of Goa by the Portuguese also forced the Adil Khan to offer the most strenuous opposition to them, and to throw in his lot with the Moors or Arabs, whose influence with the King of Cambay induced him, too, to resist the establishment of Portuguese trading stations in his dominions.

The hostility of the Arabs and natives of India to the Portuguese pretensions in the East, which was caused primarily by a desire to retain the control of that trade which had for several centuries so enriched all who had a share in it, was also greatly increased by the inhuman barbarities too often resorted to by the Portuguese in order to crush their opponents and to drive them from the Indian seas. The destruction of defenceless towns, the indiscriminate murder of their opponents, and the wholesale piracy openly practised on the high seas in the name of a civilised nation, naturally enough raised a spirit of opposition and retaliation on the part of those whose interests and lives were so seriously menaced.

But, whilst the means employed to destroy the Arab

trade with the East cannot be defended upon general principles, there can be no doubt but that Europe collectively benefited to no inconsiderable extent by the check which this attack on the trade that formerly passed through Turkish dominions must have given to the resources of that terrible foe to the civilised nations of the West The Ottoman Empire was already beginning to decay, destroyed by the love of luxury and ease, the outcome of easily-gained wealth due to a long monopoly of the Eastern trade. The great and valiant rulers of the past were now succeeded by weak and vicious Sultans, and the destruction of their commerce with India and the East, followed in 1571 by the signal defeat of their navy off Patras by a combined fleet of the Mediterranean powers, effectually put a stop to their further European conquests. By a curious irony of fate, Venice and Genoa, two of the nations who, although they flourished by means of the Eastern trade that passed through the Ottoman Empire, took part in a combined expedition against that State, and shared with it in a decadence of wealth and power upon the diversion of the Eastern trade from its ancient channels to the direct sea-route to Europe.

Amongst the difficulties that beset Portugal in her communications with India, by no means the least was the obligation placed upon her by the famous Bull of Pope Alexander VI., to propagate the Catholic Religion in all new lands discovered by her, as a condition of being allowed to hold them on conquest with the Papal sanction and benediction. To this end priests of different orders accompanied the several expeditions to India, and large funds were appropriated for their services and maintenance. Unfortunately, at an early date, violent measures

were adopted with the view of forcing the people to embrace the Catholic faith. Their pagodas were detroyed, and an attempt appears almost to have been made to carry out their propagandism by fire and sword, in imitation of the manner in which Muhammadanism had been previously introduced into India. The forces at the disposal of the Portuguese were, however, utterly disproportioned to the magnitude of their intentions, and the results were not only a complete failure to accomplish their object, but their attempts greatly increased their unpopularity with the people, and added to the difficulties they otherwise encountered in establishing a Portuguese Empire in the East. The priests, monks, and other members of the various religious orders, in course of time multiplied in India out of all proportion to the requirements of the Portuguese populations or of the native converts, and greatly harassed the Government by their inordinate assumptions and pretensions, so that they added in no inconsiderable degree to the difficulties of Government in dealing with the natives. To such an extent did they abuse their power that they absorbed a large proportion of the revenues of the State for their maintenance and ecclesiastical purposes, so that the Government often lacked means for the proper support of their factories and military establishments.

In this and other ways were the revenues of the State misappropriated and squandered, and successive Governors were left without the means for establishing themselves in new conquests, and often held those they had acquired only by the passive permission of the natives. Almost the final blow to the hopes of the Portuguese of establishing an Eastern Empire was given when Portugal fell

under the Spanish dominion, and Philip II absorbed all the revenues from India in his fruitless attempt to subdue Holland. At no time during the early years of their conquests in India did the Portuguese hold territorial possessions extending much beyond the boundaries of their forts, excepting at Goa, and until the latter part of the eighteenth century their Goanese territories were of too limited an area to merit the high-sounding title of Empire. In Ceylon they did acquire sovereign rights, and succeeded in establishing their rule over some limited areas in the vicinity of their forts. They, however, never succeeded in reducing the King of Kotta and other native chiefs to subjection, and the history of their occupation of Ceylon reveals a continued state of warfare until they were finally ejected from their several positions on the island by the Dutch

A great deal has been written by various Portuguese authors on the "Ruin of India," by which term is meant the downfall of the Portuguese power in the East. The manner in which the State revenues were devoted to other than Imperial purposes has already been referred to. In the absence of any extensive landed possessions from which rents might have been obtained in order to supplement the profits derived from trade, a very favourite practice of successive Viceroys was to put a high customs duty upon all goods arriving at or leaving their several ports, and to such an extent was this carried that trade was effectually driven away, and forced to seek other places which were not subject to Portuguese rule, and their ruinous exactions. In this manner several of the most important emporia, which had for centuries been noted as the principal seats of trade in the East, were

effectually ruined, and Ormuz, Calicut, Cochin, Quilon, and Malacca, deprived of their commerce, sank under Portuguese mismanagement into places of secondary importance, and never afterwards recovered their commercial supremacy. The religious Orders, when no longer able to draw large revenues from the State in India, turned hostile to the Government under which they had accumulated wealth, and acted in positive opposition, and even hostility to it, until at length orders were sent out by the Marquis of Pombal for the expulsion of the Jesuits from the country. A laxity of Government, and a general corruption amongst the servants of the State, in which each one, regardless of the public interests, sought but his own benefit and the accumulation of wealth, only too certainly prepared the way for the downfall of Portuguese rule in India.

From an old document in the Pombal collection, it would appear that Philip III., King of Spain, writing about the year 1630, addressed circular letters to the various commercial bodies of the Peninsula, asking their opinions as to the best means of restoring the fading prestige in India. To this the Worshipful Company of Weavers of Lisbon replied that they attributed the loss of India in a great measure to the alienation of the revenues of those possessions—which ought to have been devoted to their defence—to the promotion of Spanish projects in Flanders, and to the maintenance and support of religious bodies in the Peninsula.

Diogo do Couto, in a small work which he wrote on this subject, remarks that the Governors of India had ceased to trouble themselves with governing; that the soldiers, being subject to no discipline, became insolent,

and devoted themselves to amusement, and that the officials generally endeavoured to enrich themselves by extortion and injustice, by which means also they entirely alienated the natives from Portuguese rule. In the services, also, merit no longer secured promotion, which was given only to those who, by flattery, secured the good will of the Governor.

There can be no doubt but that during the sixty years of Spanish dominion the interests of Portugal were entirely sacrificed to those of Spain, and the Indian trade was only looked upon as a means of supplying the latter with funds for carrying out her designs in Europe, so that not only were the Portuguese Indian possessions made to contribute towards the cost of Spanish expeditions in the West, but their resources were applied to a cause which resulted in the dispatch of expeditions to the East by European enemies of Spain, who competed with her for the possession of that trade, the resources of which had been so long and unscrupulously employed against them. Thus, on the restoration, when Portugal again enjoyed her freedom, the conditions of her Eastern enterprises were entirely changed; the Indian trade was ruined; the enemies which Spain had raised up in the East refused to be satisfied, or to declare peace without full compensation for past injuries, and the cause of Portugal in India was altogether crushed beyond all hope of future recovery. It is, however, an undoubted fact that she failed to profit by the experiences of the past, and followed a course in India directly opposed to her best interests.

In a despatch of the 19th December, 1729, the Viceroy, João de Saldanha da Gama, observed that the ruin of India was visibly owing to the want of commerce, a want

which arose from two causes, the primary one being the horror which all merchants—who were solely natives or Moors—had of the office of the Inquisition, not only by reason of the rage they felt when they witnessed their rights treated with contumely, but also on account of what they endured in the dungeons, where they preferred rather to suffer death than to give up their habit of not eating or drinking in the presence of Christians, or of taking food prepared by persons who were not of their caste; but, the castes being very numerous, it was impossible to have dungeons enough to keep them separate. The Viceroy then proceeded to remark, "I do not know under what law the Inquisition pretends to have the right to try men who were never Catholics, but what I see is that, on account of the excessive number of prisoners of this description, all the northern province is depopulated, the admirable factory of Tanna is lost, and a corresponding one is being commenced at Bombay, from whence the English take silks, woollen goods, and other merchandise, which they introduce into Portugal." In 1814 the Inquisition was abolished in India, but it was then too late to efface the calamitous effects that it had produced upon the people of India to the detriment of the Government under whose auspices it had been introduced into that country.

Much might be written as to the causes of the decay of Portuguese power in India, but enough has perhaps been already stated to enable the reader to realise the leading circumstances and facts, as stated by the Portuguese themselves, which led to that result, further details of which will be found in the following pages.

The Portuguese territories in India now consist of Goa,

Daman, and Diu. The settlement of Goa lies about 250 miles south-south-east from Bombay, and extends between 14° 53′ and 15° 48′ N. latitude, and between 73° 45′ and 74° 24′ E longitude. It is bounded on the north by the river Tirakul, or Auraundem, separating it from the Sáwantwari State; on the east by the range of the Western Gháts, separating it from the district of Belgaum; on the south by the North Kanara District; and on the west by the Arabian Sea. Its extreme length from north to south is 62 miles; its greatest breadth from east to west 40 miles; and the total area 1,062 square miles. The population in 1881, including Anjediva, was 445,449 persons; the number of towns, four; villages, 400; parishes, 100; and houses, 87,196. Goa is divided into nine districts, viz., Ilhas, Salsette, Bardes, Pernem, Sanquelim, Ponda, Sanguem, Quepem, and Canacona. The first three of these constitute what is known as the *Velhas Conquistas*, and the others form the *Novas Conquistas*. The territory is intersected by numerous rivers, most of which are navigable. It possesses a fine harbour, formed by the promontories of Bardes and Salsette. Half way between these extremities projects the *Cabo*, or Cape, from the island of Goa, dividing the harbour into two anchorages, known respectively as Aguada and Marmagão, each of which is capable of accommodating safely the largest ships during a considerable portion of the year.

The inhabitants may be divided into three classes, viz., Europeans, the descendants of Europeans, and natives. The last class may be again divided into Christians and Pagans. The native Christians, who constitute a little more than half the population, are the descendants of Hindus converted to Christianity on the subjugation of

the country by the Portuguese, and can still trace the caste to which they originally belonged. All classes of the people, except Europeans, use the Konkain language with some admixture of Portuguese words, but the official language is Portuguese, which is principally spoken in the capital and the chief towns, as well as by all educated persons.

The majority of the population profess the Roman Catholic religion, and are subject in spiritual matters to an Archbishop, who has the title of Primate of the East, and exercises jurisdiction over the Catholics of all the Portuguese Colonies in the East, and of a great portion of British India. His nomination rests with the King of Portugal, subject to confirmation by the Pope. There are altogether 96 Catholic Churches in Goa, mostly built by the Jesuits and the Franciscans prior to the extinction of the religious orders in Portuguese territory. The Hindus and Muhammedans enjoy perfect liberty in religious matters, and have their own places of worship.

At the conquest of Goa by Affonso de Albuquerque, the village communities, amongst which the inhabitants were distributed, were found to be in the enjoyment of certain immunities from taxation and of other privileges. Albuquerque carefully maintained the constitution of the villages, and avoided all appearance of fresh taxation. The same policy was followed by his successors; and in 1526 a register was compiled, called *Foral dos usas e Costumes*, containing the peculiar usage and customs of the communities, and the privileges enjoyed by them from time immemorial. This register served as a guide book to subsequent administrations. But, in time, the communities were burdened with additional imposts, and

placed under certain restrictions. At present they are under the supervision of Government, which appoints in each District of the *Velhas Conquistas*, an officer called *Administrador das Communidades*, to watch rigidly over their proceedings. There is a regular staff of village servants, but no village head-man. On questions affecting the interests of a whole village, a sort of *pancháyat*, or Council, is held, composed of one or more members of each clan (*vangor*), and the decisions are determined by the majority of votes. In the *Velhas Conquistas*, a great portion of the land is held by the village communities, which, after paying the rent and other Government taxes, divide the annual produce amongst themselves; while in the *Novas Conquistas* the lands are distributed among the *vangors*, who cultivate them and enjoy their net produce.

Previously to 1871, Goa possessed a comparatively large native Army, but owing to the rebellion which broke out in that year it was disbanded, and a battalion composed wholly of Europeans was obtained from Portugal. The force now consists of 313 men of all ranks, besides which there is a police force of 919 men.

Goa is considered an integral part of the Portuguese Empire, and, with Daman and Diu, forms, for administrative purposes, one province subject to a Governor-General, who is appointed directly by the King of Portugal. Besides his civil functions, he is invested with supreme military authority in the Province. His personal staff consists of two aides-de-camp, and a secretary, who are also appointed by the King. Although he is the chief executive authority, the Governor-General cannot, except in cases of emergency, impose new taxes or abolish the existing ones, contract loans, create new appointments, or

reduce the old ones, retrench the salaries attached to them, or generally incur any expenses not sanctioned by law; nor can he, in any circumstances, leave the Province without the special permission of the Home Government.

In the administration of the Province, the Governor-General is aided by a council composed of the Chief Secretary, the Archbishop of Goa, or, in his absence, the chief ecclesiastical authority exercising his functions, the Judges of the High Court, the two highest military officers in Goa, the Attorney-General, the Secretary of the Junta da Fazenda Publica (council of public revenue), the Health Officer, and the President of the Camara Municipal de Capital (Municipal Chamber or Corporation of the Capital). As a rule, all the members give their opinions, and vote in every matter on which they are consulted by the Governor-General. There are also three other Juntas or councils, called the Junta Geral da Provincia (general council of the Province), the Junta da Fazenda Publica (council of public revenue), and the Conselho da Provincia (the council of the Province). The first of these is composed of the Chief Secretary, the Archbishop or his substitute, the Attorney-General, the Secretary of the Junta da Fazenda Publica, the Director of Public Works, the Health Officer, a Professor of the Medico-Surgical College, a Professor of the Instituto Professional, a Professor of the Lyceum, a Professor of the Normal School, and a representative from each of the municipal corporations of the Province. This Junta discusses and decides all questions relating to public works, and the expenses necessary for their execution, the preservation of public health, the establishment of schools, the alteration of custom duties, &c. The Governor-

General is empowered to suspend the operation of any resolution passed by this Junta, pending a reference to the Home Government. The second Council consists of the Governor-General as President, the Attorney-General, the Secretary of the same council, and the Accountant-General. This Junta exercises a direct and active control over the public revenues, making the requisite provisions for their proper collection and expenditure, and no public expense can be made without its sanction. The third Council is altogether of inferior importance.

In addition to the above machinery of administration there are subordinate agencies for the local government of the different districts. In connection with these agencies, the entire territory of Goa is divided into two tracts, known as the Velhas and Novas Conquistas (old and new cònquests). The former tract is sub-divided into three districts (conselhos), viz., the Ilhas, Bárdes, and Salsette, and each of these again into parishes, of which there are eighty-five in all. Every district has a municipal corporation, and is placed under the charge of a functionary called Administrador da Conselho. This officer is appointed by the Governor-General, and is entrusted with duties of an administrative character, besides those connected with the public safety and health. Every parish has likewise a minor Council, called Junta da Parochia, presided over by a Magistrate, called Regedor, whose duties are to inspect and direct the police establishments of the parish, keep a strict surveillance over liquor shops, gaming houses, &c., open wills and testaments, and report generally every important occurrence to the Administrador. Similarly, in each of the six divisions into which the Novas Conquistas are sub-divided, there is an officer,

called Administrador Fiscal, whose duties are almost identical with those of the Administrador da Conselho. The functions of a Regedor are here exercised by a village kulkarni. Of the above-named six divisions, the first is Pernem , the second, Sanquelim, or Satári and Bicholim; the third, Ponda; the fourth, Sanguem, or Astagrár and Embarbákam; the fifth, Quepem, or Bally, Chandorowadi, and Cacora; and the sixth Canacona with Cabo de Ráma. Each of the sub-divisions of the Velhas and Novas Conquistas is also known by the name of Province. The offices of Governor, Chief Secretary, Attorney-General, and some other important ones are almost invariably filled by Europeans, while those of Administrador da Conselho and Regedor are held by natives.

Damán is a town and settlement in the Province of Gujarát, Bombay Presidency, situate about 100 miles north of Bombay. Including the parganá of Nagar Havili, it contains an area of eighty-two square miles, with a total population (1881), including absentees and temporary residents, of 49,084 persons. The Settlement of Damán is bounded on the north by the river Bhagwán, on the east by British territory, on the south by the Kalem river, and on the west by the Gulf of Cambay. Damán town is situated in latitude 22° 25′ N., longitude 72° 53′ E.

The Settlement is composed of two portions, in Damán proper, namely, parganá Naer or Damán Grande, and parganá Calana Pavori or Damán Pequeno, and the detached parganá of Nagar Havili, separated from it by a narrow strip of British territory, five or seven miles in width, and intersected by the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway. The portion of Damán proper con-

tains an area of twenty-two square miles, and 29 villages, with a population of 21,622 souls; it lies at the entrance of the Gulf of Cambay, and is divided by the river Damán-Gangá into the two separate tracts known as Damán Grande (Great Damán) and Damán Pequeno (Little Damán). The first, on the south, is contiguous to the British District of Thana, while the other lies towards the north and borders on Surat District. The parganá of Nagar Havili, situated towards the east, has an area of sixty square miles, with a population (1881) of 27,462 persons, and is likewise sub-divided into two parts, called Eteli Pati and Upeli Pati, containing respectively twenty-two and fifty villages.

The territory of Damán forms, for administrative purposes, a single District, and has a municipal chamber or corporation. It is ruled by a Governor invested with both civil and military functions, subordinate to the Governor-General of Goa. The judicial department is superintended by a judge, with an establishment composed of a delegate of the Attorney-General and two or three clerks. The total revenues of Damán in 1873-74 amounted to £7,960 10s., of which the larger portion was derived from the parganá of Nagar Havili. The chief sources of revenue are land tax, forest, abkári or excise, and custom duties. The expenditure in the same year was £7,880 4s. The police force consisted, in 1874, of 194 officers and men.

The Settlement of Damán has two forts, situated on either side of the river Damán-Ganga. The former is almost square in shape, and built of stone. It contains, besides the ruins of the old monastic establishments, the Governor's palace, together with the buildings appertain-

ing to it, military barracks, hospital, municipal office court house, jail, two modern churches, and numerous private residences. On the land side this fort is protected by a ditch crossed by a drawbridge, while at its north-west angle extends its principal bastion, which commands the entrance to the harbour. It is occupied by the Governor and his staff, the military establishment, officers connected with the Government, and a few private individuals; all are Christians. The smaller fort, which is a more recent structure, is placed by the Portuguese under the patronage of St. Jerome. Its form is that of an irregular quadrilateral, enclosed by a wall somewhat higher than that of the other fort. The principal buildings within it are a church, a parochial house, and a mortuary chapel surrounded by a cemetery. Both the forts have brass and iron cannon on the walls, some of which are mounted, and others either attached to old carriages or lying on the ground.

Diu is an island forming portion of the Portuguese possessions in Western India; situated in latitude 20°43′ 20″ N. and longitude 71° 2′ 30″ E., and separated by a narrow channel through a considerable swamp from the southern extremity of the Peninsula of Káthiáwár, in the Bombay Presidency. Its extreme length from east to west is about seven miles, and its greatest breadth from north to south two miles. Area, 52·5 square kilometres. On the north, the narrow channel separating it from the mainland is practicable only for fishing boats and small craft. On the south the face of the island is a sandstone cliff, washed by the sea, with deep water close beneath. Several groves of cocoanut trees are scattered over the island, and the hills attain an elevation of about 100 feet It has a small but excellent

harbour, where vessels can safely ride at anchor in two fathoms of water. The climate is generally dry and sultry, the soil barren, the water scarce. Agriculture is much neglected. The principal products are wheat, millet, náchni, bájra, cocoanuts, and some kinds of fruit. The entire population of Diu island, according to the census of 1881, numbered 6,229 males and 6,407 females, total, 12,636 persons, of whom 303 are Christians, including four Europeans.

The town of Diu stands at the east end of the island, the castle being in lat. 20°42′ N., and long. 70° 59′ E.; distance from Nawa Bandar, five miles. In the days of its commercial prosperity the town alone is said to have contained above 50,000 inhabitants. There are now 2,929 houses, which, with very few exceptions, are poorly constructed Some of the dwellings are provided with cisterns, of which there are altogether about 300, for the accumulation of rain water. Diu, once so opulent and famous for its commerce has now dwindled into utter insignificance. Not long ago it maintained mercantile relations with several parts of India and Mozambique, but at present its trade is almost stagnant. The castle is separated from the other fortifications by a deep moat cut through the solid sandstone rock, through which the sea had free passage at one time, but now it only enters at the highest tides. Besides Diu town there are three large villages on the island, namely, Monakbara, with a fort commanding the channel on the west; Bachawara on the north; and Nagwa, with a small fort commanding the bay on the south. The principal occupations of the natives were formerly weaving and dyeing, and articles manufactured here were highly prized in foreign markets.

At present fishing affords the chief employment to the impoverished inhabitants. A few enterprising persons, however, emigrate temporarily to Mozambique, where they occupy themselves in commercial pursuits, and, after making a sufficient fortune, return to their native place to spend the evening of their lives. The total revenue of Diu in 1873-74 was £3,802

The Governor is the chief authority in both the civil and military departments, subordinate to the Governor-General of Goa The judicial department is under a Juiz de Direito, with a small establishment to carry out his orders For ecclesiastical purposes the island is divided into two parishes, called Se Matriz and Brancawara, the patron saints being St. Paul and St Andrew. Both parishes are under the spiritual jurisdiction of a dignitary styled the Prior, appointed by the Archbishop of Goa. The office of Governor is invariably filled by a European, other posts being bestowed on natives of Goa. The public force consisted in 1874 of 97 soldiers, including officers.

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October, 1894.

HISTORY

OF THE

PORTUGUESE IN INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

Early History and Development of the Iberian Peninsula and Spain

CHAP. I

THE early history of Portugal is included in that of Spain, or Hispania, as the entire peninsula was called by the Romans; but it was called Iberia by Herodotus. The first known account of this country is in connection with the Phœnician settlements there, which were referred to under the name of Tartessus, and are generally understood to have included the country about the mouth of the Guadalquiver; or it may occasionally have been used in a more extensive sense, and have been referred to as embracing all the Phœnician colonies in Bœtica, the ancient name of Andalusia. Tartessus was, in the opinion of some, identical with the Tarshish of Scripture. As a geographical expression Tarshish is of extreme antiquity, being referred to in Genesis x. 4 as one of the places peopled by the sons of Javan, who, was himself one of the sons of Japhet. "And the sons of Javan, Elishah, and Tarshish, Kittim and Dodanim. By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands." The Phœnicians must have

CHAP. I.

journeyed, and carried on a pretty extensive trade, beyond the pillars of Hercules long before the time of King Solomon, since it was undoubtedly their vessels—the ships of Tarshish—which brought "gold and silver, ivory and apes and peacocks" to Jerusalem (I Kings x. 22). Bœtica is said to have been one of the most fertile regions of the old world. According to Kenrick's "Phœnicia" quoted in *The Story of the Nations*, the wide plains through which the Guadalquiver (Bœtis) flows produced the finest wheat, yielding an increase of a hundred-fold; the oil and the wine, the growth of the hills, were equally distinguished for their excellence. The wool was not less remarkable for its fineness than in modern times, and had a native colour beautiful without dye. Like the other great rivers of Iberia, which take their course to the ocean, the Bœtis washes down gold from the mountains in which it rises, and, by following it to its source, the rich mines which they contain would be soon discovered. Gold, silver, quicksilver, tin, lead, copper, and iron abound in the mountains in which the Bœtis and its tributaries rise. The myth of the herds of cattle which Hercules carried off from Geryon indicates the richness of the pastures near the mouth of the Bœtis. The river was navigable for boats in ancient times as high up as Corduba, and, till the seventeenth century, for large vessels to Seville. The River Anas, or Guadiana, which rises near the Bœtis, and flows into the Atlantic through a valley almost parallel in its direction, was also navigable to a considerable distance from the sea, and the hills which bordered it were no less rich in metals. The ocean-tides, which enter the mouths of these rivers, carried ships far up into the land; and the estuaries, which abound along the coast, afforded similar facilities to the inhabitants for shipping the various products of the country. The sea was equally productive with the land in the materials for an extensive commerce. The warmth of the waters, and perhaps the greater range which the ocean afforded, caused

CHAP. I.

B.C. 1100 to 630.

the fish and conchylia to attain to a size not known in the Mediterranean. The salted eels of Tartessus were a delicacy at Athenian tables; and the "Tyrian tunny," which is mentioned along with it, came partly from the same coast, where its favourite food abounded.

It is uncertain at how early a period the Phœnicians first planted colonies on this coast, but according to Strabo it was soon after the Trojan war. The most important of these colonies was Gadeira, or Gades, whose name survives in the modern Cadiz, and is supposed to have been founded somewhere about 1100 B.C. Their other colonies in this part were Malaca, Abdera, and Carteia, places which now exist under the names of Malaga, Almeria, or, according to some, Adra, and Rocadillo. The original city of Gadeira was small, and enclosed within a strong wall, whence the name "Gadir" or "Gadeira," which means in the Phœnician language "an enclosure" or "a fortified place" It occupied almost exactly the site of the modern Cadiz, being spread over the northern end of the island, the little islet of the Trocadero, and ultimately over a portion of the opposite coast. It contained temples of El Melkarth, and Ashtoreth or Astarté. Malaca was situated about as far to the east of the straits as Gadeira was to the west of them. It derived its name from Malakh, the Phœnician word for "salt," its inhabitants being largely employed in the making of that commodity, and in the salting and pickling of fish. The mountains in its vicinity were abundantly productive both of gold and of other metals. Abdera lay still further to the east. It was situated about midway in a shallow bay, which indents the southern coast of Spain, towards the extreme east of the rich province of Granada. Carteia was in the bay of Algesiras, which lies immediately west of the rock of Gibraltar.

The Phœnicians appear to have enjoyed the exclusive benefit of the trade with Tartessus until about the year 630 B.C., when Colœus, a shipmaster of Samos, on his

CHAP I

B.C. 600 to 406

way to Egypt, was driven by the force of the wind the whole length of the Mediterranean Sea, and finally beyond the pillars of Hercules, when he landed on the coast of Tartessus, and, trading there with his cargo, gained sixty talents. Thus a new sea-route was pointed out to the Samians and the Greeks, and a new commercial region opened up. The Phœnicians immediately adopted this route, and gained precedence of the Samians beyond the pillars of Hercules. They discovered at the same time, or had previously discovered, the east coast of Iberia; it is certain that they reached the mouths of the Rhone before the year 600 B C.

The Greeks do not appear to have followed up their trade with Iberia to any great extent, and little therefore is known of that country for about 350 years, beyond the fact that there went, in the fourth century B C., an embassy to Alexander the Great, from the remote West, of Gauls and Iberians, and from that time the Greeks began to discuss the geography of that country. It came, however, again into notice during the first Punic war. Carthage being a Phœnician colony, the Carthaginians, no doubt, from the very first, traded with Iberia; and in one of their treaties with Rome in 509 B C. there was a stipulation that "the Romans and their allies shall not sail beyond the Fair Promontory," which is supposed to have meant westward of it, and that this was specially intended to protect the Carthaginian markets in Iberia. The Carthaginians must have obtained considerable influence in that country, for in their contests with the Greeks—their great commercial rivals—in Sicily, Hamilcar's army was composed partly of Iberians. Again, in 406 B.C, it is related that Hannibal and Hamilco sent envoys to treat with the chiefs in Iberia and the Balearic Islands, when preparing an army for another contest with the Greeks under Dionysius. That the Carthaginians established colonies in Iberia is certain, attracted, no doubt, by the wealth of the silver mines there, the richest of which are said to have been in

CHAP. I

B.C. 237 to 219.

the neighbourhood of New Carthage. These are reputed to have been discovered by a certain Aletes, who was supposed to have done so much for his country by this discovery that a temple was dedicated to him at New Carthage. Diodorus says that all the mines in his time were first worked by Carthaginians. Some of these belonged to the State, but others were worked by private enterprise. Carthage carried on an extensive trade with Europe, including tin and copper from Britain, and amber from the Baltic. Trade was carried on, not only with the dwellers on the coast, but also with inland tribes. Thus goods were transported across Iberia to the interior of Gaul, the jealousy of Massilia (Marseilles) not permitting the Carthaginians to have any trading stations on the southern coast of that country.

As soon as Carthage had lost her supremacy in Sicily and Sardinia, Hamilcar Barca endeavoured to make up for this by establishing a new empire in Iberia. In that he was eminently successful, and he is said to have founded Barcelona, and to have called it after his own name, Barcino. In later years Barcelona became the principal station of the intercourse with the Eastern countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea.

After Hamilcar's death the work was carried on by his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, who was the founder of New Carthage (now Carthagena). He is also reputed to have been the author of the treaty with the Romans by which the boundaries of the two empires were fixed at the River Iberin (Ebro). On the death of Hasdrubal, the command in Iberia devolved upon Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar. Hannibal, after gaining a great victory over a native army, laid siege to Saguntum, a Greek city in alliance with Rome, which, it was agreed when the treaty with Rome was made by Hasdrubal, should be left independent. The capture of that town, in opposition to a remonstrance from Rome, led to the outbreak of the second Punic war, which was commenced by Hannibal's celebrated march

CHAP. I.

B.C 210 to 132.

with an army, principally composed of Iberian troops, across the Pyrenees and Alps right into the heart of the enemy's country. A Roman army, however, under Cnæus and Publius Scipio, carried the war into Iberia, where they gained many brilliant victories over the Carthaginian generals. Six years of hard fighting ended in the defeat and death of these two brave men, but, in 210 B.C., the son of Publius, the elder Africanus, struck a decisive blow at the Carthaginian power in Iberia by the sudden capture of New Carthage. The war was continued until, in 207 B.C., the Roman army gave the Carthaginians a decisive defeat at Silpia, which left them masters of nearly the whole of Iberia, Gades alone being left to Carthage. That place, however, also surrendered to the Romans two years later, and from this date the reduction of the country into a Roman province was only a matter of time. The country was henceforward known as Hispania. Rome had now to deal only with the natives of the country, but these, especially in the more mountainous parts, carried on for a long time a sort of guerilla war. Of all the tribes, the Celtiberi, who inhabited the interior of the country, were ever uncertain and intractable, and the "Celtiberian war" of Roman histories meant generally a war involving the greater part of Hispania. In 154 B.C., the Romans suffered a disastrous defeat from the Lusitanians who, some seven years later, revolted from Rome under the leadership of a chief named Viriathus, and inflicted many disastrous defeats on the Roman armies. Being now joined by the Celtiberi in the revolt, the country seemed well-nigh lost to Rome, insomuch that a treaty was exacted from the Imperial Empire declaring the independence of the Lusitanians; but, about the year 132 B.C., Lusitania and its towns, after some obstinate fighting, were reduced to submission by the consul Junius Brutus; and the capture of Numantia shortly before by the younger Scipio having given Rome a hold over the inland districts, the whole country, with the exception of its

northern coasts, again became nominally a Roman territory. The Roman administration generally favoured the development of the country's prosperity, whilst piracy in the Mediterranean was checked in the interest of its commerce.

In 97 B.C. the Celtiberians, under the leadership of the famous Sertorious, again rose up against Rome, and carried on the war for eight years, but, in 71 B.C., the country was reconquered by Pompey for Rome, and reorganized under a somewhat more stringent rule than before. It was not, however, until the year 19 B.C. that the consolidation of the Roman dominion in Hispania was completed. The country was now fairly conquered; the warlike peoples of the north were cowed and broken; the south was thoroughly Romanized, the population having adopted the Latin manners and the Latin tongue. Some of the best specimens of Roman architecture, and some of the finest Roman coins, have been discovered in the cities of Spain, which, from the time of Augustus, became really prosperous, and were famous for their schools and their scholars. Spain, in fact, was more completely Roman than any province beyond the limits of Italy. The country which had hitherto harassed Rome with incessant risings and insurrections was at last peaceful and contented. Under Augustus it was divided into the three provinces of Lusitania, Bœtica, and Tarraconensis. Of these, Bœtica answered nearly to Andalusia inclusive of Granada; the remainder of Spain, Gallicia, and the Asturias, Biscay and Navarre, Leon and the two Castiles, Murcia, Valencia, Catalonia, and Aragon, all contributed to form the third and most considerable of the Roman Governments, which, from the name of its capital, was styled the Province of Tarragona; and Lusitania corresponded nearly to modern Portugal. For purposes of local administration the country was divided into fourteen administrative districts, of which there were seven in Tarraconensis,—viz., Tarraco (Tarragona), Carthago Nova

CHAP. I. A.D. 256 to 415.

(Carthagena), Cæsar Augusta (Zaragoza), Clunia Sulpicia Colonia (ruins near Arandilla), Asturia Augusta (Astorga), Lucus Augusti (Lugo), and Braccara Augusta (Braza); in Bœtica there were four: Gades (Cadiz), Corduba (Cordova), Astigi (Ecija), and Hispalis (Seville); and in Lusitania three: Emerita Augusta (Merida), the capital, Pasc Julia (Beja), and Scalabis (Santarem) on the Tagus. Lisbon, then a place of inferior importance, and called Olisipo, became under Roman rule a municipium with the epithet of Felicitas Julia.

With the exception of an incursion by the Franks, in 256 A.D., by whom Tarraco was almost destroyed, and several flourishing towns were reduced to mere villages (which, however, proved to be only a passing storm), the country enjoyed peace and prosperity for about 400 years, during which commerce and civilization flourished; and in the fourth century the cities of Emerita Augusta, or Merida, of Corduba, Hispalis, Braccara, and Tarraco, were numbered with the finest, richest, and most illustrious of the Roman world. The natural wealth of the country was improved and manufactured by the skill of an industrious people; and the peculiar advantages of naval stores contributed to support an extensive and profitable trade. In 409, however, the year of the sack of Rome under Alaric, a tide of barbarians swept over the country, when Suevi, Alani, and Vandals ravaged with equal fury the cities and the open country. The ancient Gallicia, whose limits included the kingdom of Old Castile, was divided between the Suevi and the Vandals; the Alani were scattered over the provinces of Carthagena and Lusitania, from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic Ocean; and the fruitful territory of Bœtica was allotted to the Silingi, another branch of the Vandalic nation. These were driven out by Visigoths under Ataulphus; and in 415 Walia, his successor, established the Visigothic kingdom in Spain on the ruins of the old Roman

province. Spain, thus reconquered, was nominally subject to Rome, but soon became really independent, and began to be the seat of a Christian civilization.

CHAP. I.

A.D. 418 to 811.

•The Visigothic kingdom in Spain, founded by Walia, lasted for nearly three centuries, from 418 to 711, and Toledo was its centre of administration. For a time Spain still remained in name a Roman province, but King Euric (466-485) succeeded in defying the empire and in establishing a Visigothic kingdom in full and avowed independence.

Very little is known of the progress and trade of Spain during the existence of the Visigothic rule; but at the opening of the eighth century, Musa, the Governor of Africa, received the message of the traitor, Count Julian, that brought on the invasion of Spain. At the order of Musa, his lieutenant Tarik crossed the Straits in 711; and, soon after disembarking in Andalusia, met and defeated the armies of Spain in the decisive battle of Xeres, where Roderick, last of the Gothic kings, lost his life. Having received reinforcements, Tarik speedily reduced Malaga, Granada, Cordova, Seville, and, finally, the Spanish capital, Toledo, itself Musa now took the command in Spain, and received the submission of Saragossa and Barcelona, reached the Pyrenees, and within the space of four years reduced the whole of Spain, Gallicia excepted, to an Arab dependency.

At first the Arabs were tolerant of the people's religion, but after awhile they became less so, and this led to a reaction on the part of the Christian populations in the north. This movement was headed by Pelayo; and his grandson, Affonso I., succeeded in driving back the Moors and forming a Christian kingdom to the north of the Douro. Affonso II.'s reign witnessed the establishment of another Christian State in Spain, and, in 811, the Arabs were driven beyond the Ebro, when Tortosa, after a siege of two years, succumbed to the forces which Louis

CHAP. I.

A.D. 813 to 1469.

the Pious had led over the mountains. Henceforth the province was ruled by the Counts of Barcelona, as representatives of the Frankish kings This movement continued, and the Moors were gradually driven towards the south; the kingdoms of Leon, Navarre, Aragon, and Castile were successively established, but, about the middle of the eleventh century, the two former kingdoms were absorbed by the latter, and henceforth the history of Christian Spain centred round the two States of Castile and Aragon. The formation of these two great Christian States was contemporaneous with a disruption of the Mussulman power. Until the latter half of the thirteenth century these States carried on a crusade against the Moors, but it then came to a sudden standstill, and the latter were allowed to retain possession of Granada for more than two centuries.†

By the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon with Isabella of Castile, in 1469, the history of Spain as a united State commences. It is not the object of the present work to

* Charlemagne having conquered a considerable part of Spain adjacent to the Pyrenæan mountains, appointed a governor who had his residence at Barcelona About the year 900 the Governor of Barcelona made himself independent of Charles the Simple, King of France; and his successors, the Counts of Barcelona, appear to have given much attention to the manufacturing and commercial interests of their subjects. In the year 1068 the usages, or customary laws, of Barcelona were collected into a code, and according to one of these laws all vessels arriving at, or sailing from, Barcelona were assured of friendly treatment; and they were declared to be under the protection of the Prince so long as they were upon the coast of Catalonia. This judicious and hospitable law was confirmed and amplified by his successors, the Kings of Aragon, in the years 1283, 1289, and 1299.

† That there existed a regular trade between the peninsula and England at an early date is clear from the fact that on the 17th February, 1294, King Edward granted safe-conduct to the merchants of Spain and Portugal, to last only till the middle of October, on condition that the Kings of Spain and Portugal should act in the same manner to his subjects; and in November, 1317, a grant was made to the merchants of certain towns in Spain exempting them from liability for the debts or crimes of the people of any other kingdom or province in Spain. In 1325 King Edward, being very desirous to obtain the friendship of the King of Castile, to support him in the war with which he was threatened by France, granted to all the nobles, merchants, masters of ships, mariners, and other subjects of that King, permission to trade freely in his British and French dominions; and in order further to gratify the Spanish King, he promised that his subjects should not be liable to arrest for any matters formerly in dispute. In November, 1430, an agreement of mutual free trade was concluded between England and Castile.

follow up this history; suffice it here to state that in 1609 Philip III. ordered the expulsion of all the Moors from the country within three days. The edict was obeyed, but it was the ruin of Spain. The Moors had been the backbone of the industrial population, not only in trade and manufactures, but also in agriculture. They had introduced into Spain the cultivation of sugar, cotton, rice, and silk. They had established a system of irrigation which had given fertility to the soil. In manufactures and commerce they had shown equal superiority to the Christian inhabitants, and many of the products of Spain were eagerly sought for by other countries. The expulsion of their principal agents for the promotion of these advantages was a blow to the commercial prosperity of the country, from which it has never since fully rallied.

A.D. 1609.

Whilst in the hands of the people who established Tyre and Carthage, the two most extensive commercial centres of the old world, and of their mercantile successors, the Romans and the Arabs, the trade of Spain was extensive and profitable; but on the decline of their respective influences in the peninsula the commercial prosperity of the country also fell away. Phœnicia and Rome, whilst paramount in Spain, traded largely with the East, and Oriental commerce thus found its way into the Iberian peninsula direct, and through it probably into Gaul. The commerce of the Moors in the Mediterranean was, however, much more extensive than that of the Christians. They were also superior to them in naval power, and particularly in the size of their vessels. Abdirraman, the Saracen chieftain, or calif, of the greatest part of Spain, built, it has been stated, a vessel larger than had ever been seen before, and loaded her with innumerable articles of merchandise, to be sold in the Eastern regions. On her way she met with a ship carrying dispatches from the Omir of Sicily to Almoez, a sovereign on the African coast, and pillaged her. Almoez thereupon fitted out a fleet, which captured the great Spanish ship returning from Alexandria,

CHAP. I.

loaded with rich wares for Abdirraman's own use, and particularly beautiful slaves, among whom were some women very skilful in music. It was probably in imitation of those built by the Moors in Spain that the Christian Spaniards introduced the use of large ships, for which they were distinguished, at least down to the time of Philip II, whose invincible armada consisted of ships much larger than the English vessels opposed to them.

CHAPTER II

Rise of the Portuguese Kingdom—Discoveries of Prince Henry the Navigator—Early Traders with India—State of India at the End of the Fifteenth Century.

HAVING thus briefly sketched the rise and development of the Iberian peninsula and the establishment of an independent Spanish empire, it is necessary to go back again to the days of the Moorish ascendancy in order to trace the rise of the Portuguese kingdom, with which the present work is more particularly concerned.

Affonso VI., King of Leon and Castile, being apprehensive that his success in taking the city of Toledo would bring upon him the whole force of the Moors, sent to demand assistance from Philip I. of France, and the Duke of Burgundy, whose daughter he had married. His request was granted by both princes, and a numerous body of troops was speedily collected for the service, having at their head Count Raymond of Toulouse, and Count Henry, younger brother of Hugh, Duke of Burgundy. These arrived at the Court of Dom Affonso in the year 1087, and having, in the course of two or three years, given great proofs of their courage and conduct, the King resolved to bestow his daughter Urraca upon Count Raymond of Toulouse, and assigned him the province of Gallicia for the support of his dignity. About the year 1095 Dom Affonso, being desirous to express his gratitude also to

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1114 to 1158.

Count Henry of Burgundy, gave him in marriage a natural daughter of his, named Theresa, and upon this marriage he conveyed in full property the frontier provinces of Oporto and Coimbra he had conquered from the Moors. The new sovereign, with the title of Count of Portocalensis, fixed his residence at Guimarães, a town to the north of the Douro. He took his title from Portus Cale, a town at the mouth of the Douro (now Oporto). This had been an important place for trade with the Phœnicians, who called it Gaia, or Cago. During the Roman occupation it was the leading port on the west coast of the peninsula, and it was this town which gave the name to Portugal.

Count Henry is said to have performed great exploits against the Moors, but the accounts given of them are few and indistinct. He died on 1st May, 1114, and was succeeded by his son, Dom Affonso Henriques, who gained further victories over the Moors, and signally defeated them, on 25th July, 1139, on the plains of Ourique, which place was long looked upon by the Portuguese as the birthplace of their monarchy. On the 15th March, 1147, the King, Dom Affonso, captured Santarem, a strong city, forty miles from Lisbon, by which he gained a considerable tract of country, with a strong barrier to his dominions. After this he caused himself to be crowned King of Portugal, before an assembly of the States, where he also solemnly renounced all dependence upon the crown of Spain. The next year the King endeavoured to take Lisbon from the Moors, in which attempt he was at first unsuccessful; but at length a fleet of adventurers, numbering about 14,000, consisting mostly of English, with some Normans, Flemings, and others, who were on their way to the Holy Land, having anchored at the mouth of the Tagus, he demanded their assistance, as not altogether foreign to their design of making war upon the infidels.

* According to Camoens, in "The Luciads," the five "inscutcheons" on the shield of Portugal are ascribed to the five Moorish kings killed at Ourique.

His request was readily granted, and, with their assistance, Lisbon was speedily reduced, and was finally taken on the 28th June, 1158.

The name Lisbon (Lisboa) is a modification of the ancient name Olisipo, or Ulyssipo, of Phœnician origin, "hipo" meaning, in their language, a place enclosed by a wall—possibly a fortified place—and it is said to have been founded by Ulysses. Under the Romans, Olisipo became a municipium with the epithet of Felicitas Julia. After the Romans, the Goths and the Moslems successively became masters of the town and district. Under the latter the town bore in Arabic the name of Lashbûna or Oshbûna. Whilst in the hands of the Saracens, Lisbon, and also Almeirim, were particularly famous for their manufactures of silk.

After the capture of Lisbon, Dom Affonso was successful in all his undertakings. He settled the internal government of his kingdom, procured a bull from Pope Alexander III. confirming his regal dignity, undertook many successful expeditions against the Moors, and became master of four out of the six provinces which compose the present kingdom of Portugal. He died in 1185, and was succeeded by his son, Dom Sancho I., who, by steadily applying himself to the work of restoration, in a short time so improved his possessions that he acquired the titles of "The Restorer of Cities," and "Father of his Country."

In the year 1189 a fleet, composed for the most part of English vessels, but having on board a great number of adventurers of other nations bound for the Holy Land, entered the River Tagus. Dom Sancho solicited them to assist him in a design he had formed of attacking the city of Silves, in Algarve, to which they willingly assented. Having joined them with a squadron of his own galleys, and marched a body of troops by land, the place was reduced, and the English, according to agreement, were rewarded with the plunder. It is not necessary here

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1279 to 1367.

to follow in detail the further development of the Portuguese kingdom: suffice it to say that on the accession of Dom Diniz to the throne, on the death of his father Affonso III., in 1279, the period of war and of territorial extension was over, and Portugal was an established kingdom. During the reign of Dom Affonso III., the commercial relations with England considerably increased, and the fishing-grounds of each were used in common. Both he, and his son Dom Diniz, encouraged husbandry and manufactures, and did their best to turn the splendid position of Portugal for foreign trade to good account. The latter cultivated friendly relations with King Edward I. of England, with whom he freely corresponded, and with whom he made a commercial treaty in 1294. He also corresponded often with King Edward II., and agreed with him, in 1311, that the Knights Templars had been greatly maligned. On their suppression by Clement V., recollecting the great services which the military orders had rendered to Portugal, and their great power, Dom Diniz founded the Order of Christ, and invested it with the lands of the Templars. He also was the first to establish a royal navy for Portugal, of which a Genoese, named Manoel Pessanha, was the first admiral. Dom Pedro I., grandson of Dom Diniz, also greatly valued the friendship of England, and was on intimate terms with King Edward III., who, in 1352, had ordered his subjects, by proclamation, never to do any harm to the Portuguese. A curious sequel to the commercial treaty of 1294 was executed on the 20th October, 1353, when Affonso Martins Alho, on behalf of the maritime cities of Portugal, signed a treaty with the merchants of London guaranteeing mutual good faith in all matters of trade and commerce.

Ferdinand, the son of Dom Pedro, on his accession to the throne in 1367, continued to cultivate friendly relations with the English, by whom he was assisted in his contests with Castile. These contests continued during the regency of

Leonora after Ferdinand's death. Owing to the unpopularity of Leonora, and to the fear that she might bring about a Castilian dominion in Portugal, an Act was passed on the 16th December, 1383, constituting Dom João—the Grand Master of Aviz, an illegitimate son of Dom Pedro I.—defender and regent of the kingdom, with powers little less than royal. After the defeat of the Castilians at Atoleiros and Trancoso, a Cortes assembled at Coimbra, whereat it was deemed necessary, for the safety of the kingdom, that a responsible chief should be appointed, and accordingly, on 6th April, 1385, the Grand Master was proclaimed King. King João then called all his chivalry together, with the freemen of his cities, and with the help of 500 English archers (adventurers who at this time arrived at Lisbon in three large ships under the leadership of three squires named Northberry, Mowbray, and Hentzel) utterly defeated a superior Castilian army at Aljubarrota, on 14th August; and, in the following October, Nuno Alvares Pereira, surnamed the Holy Constable, destroyed another army at Valverde. These blows greatly weakened the prestige of Castile and increased that of Portugal. In the following year John of Ghaunt, Duke of Lancaster, arrived with 2,000 English lances and 3,000 archers, intending to assert his claim to the crown of Castile in right of his marriage with the Princess Constance. The intended invasion of Castile, however, proved abortive, and in accordance with the proposals of the Spanish King, Princess Catherine, the duke's daughter, was affianced to the Prince Royal of Spain. King João of Portugal, perceiving the advantage of the friendship and alliance of England, signed the treaty of Windsor on 9th May, 1386, by which the two countries were to be allies for ever in every transaction. He drew the alliance still closer by marrying, on the 2nd of February, 1387, Philippa of Lancaster, a daughter of John of Ghaunt by his first marriage. The long reign of Dom João I. was one of peaceful development, and he

CHAP II.

A.D. 1387 to 1415.

lived to see Portugal expand beyond the sea. The key-notes of his foreign policy were friendship with England and peace with Castile. Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI. of England all successively ratified the treaty of Windsor; Richard II. sent troops to help King João against Dom Diniz in 1398. Henry IV. made him a knight of the newly-established Order of the Garter in 1400, he being the first foreign sovereign to receive it. From devotion to St. George, the patron saint of the Order, whose name was at all times his battle-cry, he bore for his crest the dragon, the saint's well-known symbol. Henry V. sent him help in the expedition to Ceuta in 1415.

It was not until the accession of Dom João to the throne of Portugal that that country began to assume a prominent position as a kingdom. Dom João was the first to establish the throne upon a solid basis, and with him commenced the glorious dynasty known as that of Aviz, which lasted 200 years, and embodied the period of Portugal's greatest dignity, prosperity, and renown. Here we must for a time leave the political history of the country to follow its commercial rise, which may be attributed primarily to the discoveries of Dom Henrique, one of Dom João's sons, who was born at Oporto on the 4th March, 1394.

Dom Henrique's mother was Queen Philippa, the daughter of the Duke of Lancaster, and he was thus the nephew of Henry IV. of England, and great grandson of Edward III. Before commencing upon his maritime enterprises, Dom Henrique, together with his brothers Dom Duarte and Dom Pedro, accompanied their father in an expedition against Ceuta, which was also joined by many distinguished adventurers from England, France, and Germany, and one wealthy Englishman took with him four vessels laden with provisions. Ceuta was taken after a hard-contested fight, and the King knighted his three sons on the field of battle; he subsequently conferred on

Dom Pedro the title of Duke of Coimbra, and on Prince Henry that of Duke of Viseu, and he also made him Master of the Order of Christ and Governor of the kingdom of the Algarves. This was the first occasion on which the title of duke was conferred upon anyone in Portugal, where it had not previously existed.

The renown of Prince Henrique, after the taking of Ceuta, became so high in Europe that he was invited severally by the Pope, the Emperor of Germany, and the Kings of Castile and of England to undertake the command of their respective armies. The prince, however, had now set his mind upon the conquest of Guinea, and he sent every year two or three vessels to examine the coasts beyond Cape Non, the limit of Spanish exploration; yet none of his ships for many years had the hardihood to round Cape Bojador. Besides exploring the west coast of Africa, the Prince had, however, in his mind a hope of reaching India by the south point of that continent.

On the fall of the Roman empire the commerce of the world had passed into other hands, and the great Indo-European trade was now principally carried on by the Moors, or Arabs. The crusades had acted as a great stimulus to the demand for Eastern luxuries. The vast mercantile operations of the Arabs had filled Spain with the rich productions of the East, and the luxurious habits of the Moorish courts of Seville and Granada were imitated by the Catholic princes of Aragon and Castile. The hostilities with the Moors naturally led to an interruption in the supply of these objects of luxury, and thus it may be inferred that their expulsion from the peninsula was one of the great stimulants to the search for a passage to India by the sea.

The large revenues of the Order of Christ, of which Prince Henrique was the grand master, provided him with resources for which he could imagine no more worthy employment than the conquest and the conversion of the heathen, and the general extension of the know-

CHAP. II. A.D. 1416 to 1428.

ledge of the human race, with its concomitant commercial advantages. Dom Henrique gathered much information regarding the commerce of Africa from the Moors themselves; and the more entirely to enable himself to carry out his objects without embarrassment he took up his abode in the promontory of Sagre in Algarve. He originally named his new quarters Terça Nabal (short for Terçena Nabal), or Naval Arsenal, but at a later time it received the name of Villa do Infante. Here he devoted himself to the study of astronomy and mathematics, and hence he despatched vessels on adventurous explorations.

The travels of Dom Pedro were very instrumental in stimulating the efforts of his brother Dom Henrique. Dom Pedro started in 1416 on a visit to the principal countries of Europe and Western Asia; his first destination was Palestine, whence, after visiting the holy places, he proceeded to the court of the Grand Turk, and to that of the Grand Sultan of Babylonia, where he met with a magnificent reception. He thence passed to the court of Rome, where he obtained from Pope Martin V. the important prerogative for the Kings of Portugal of receiving the right of coronation by unction, in the same manner as was observed in the crowning of the Kings of England and France. The Prince also visited the courts of the Kings of Hungary and Denmark; he afterwards went to Venice, and there received from the Republic, in compliment to him as a traveller and a learned royal prince, the priceless gift of a copy of the travels of Marco Polo, which had been preserved by the Venetians in their treasury as a work of great value, together with a map which had been supposed to have been by the hand of the same illustrious explorer. The Prince then proceeded to England, where he was received by King Henry VI. with every mark of honour and regard. On the 22nd of April, 1427, Dom Pedro was elected a Knight of the Garter, shortly after which, in 1428, he returned to Portugal

after an absence of twelve years. Subsequently to the last-named date the trade between England and Portugal considerably increased, and British vessels were often to be seen in Portuguese waters. The principal articles of commerce were wine, osay, wax, grain, figs, raisins, honey, cordovan, dates, salt, hides, &c.

The discovery of the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira, in 1418-20, was the first fruit of Dom Henrique's explorations. For a long series of years the Prince had, with untiring perseverance, continued to send out annually two or three caravels along the West Coast of Africa. Cape Non had been passed, but it was not until 1434 that an expedition, under Gil Eannes, succeeded in doubling Cape Bojador. Further slight discoveries were made from time to time, and about 1441 Dom Henrique, seeing that he would have to send out many expeditions to contend with the infidel natives of the African coast, sent to the Pope, informing him of his proceedings, and praying for a concession in perpetuity to the crown of Portugal of whatever lands might be discovered beyond Cape Bojador to the Indies inclusive, especially submitting to His Holiness that the salvation of these people was the principal object of his labours in that conquest. The news of these discoveries was considered so valuable by the Pope and the College of Cardinals that a bull was forthwith issued in conformity with the request, and this was subsequently confirmed by Popes Nicholas V. and Sixtus IV. The Regent, Dom Pedro, also granted a charter to his brother Dom Henrique, authorizing him to receive the entire fifth of the produce of the expeditions appertaining to the King, and in consideration of the great labour and expense which the Prince undertook at his own sole charge, he issued a mandate that none should go on these expeditions without Prince Henry's licence and especial command.

Dom Henrique's method for Christianizing the people of Africa was by ordering his captains to bring home some

CHAP. II. A.D. 1442 to 1444.

natives whenever they could capture them: also an important object of this was with the view of acquiring local information from them as an aid to further discoveries. This they did, and, alluding to the negroes so taken to Lisbon, the chronicler Azurara, who had been an eye-witness, remarked: "They were treated with kindness, and no difference was made between them and the free-born servants of Portugal. Still more, those of tender age were taught trades, and such as showed aptitude for managing their property were set free, and married to women of the country, receiving a good dower just as if their masters had been their parents, or at least felt themselves bound to show this liberality in recognition of the good services they had received. Widow-ladies would treat the young captives, whom they had bought, like their own daughters, and leave them legacies in their wills, so that they might afterwards marry well, and be regarded absolutely as free women. Suffice it to say that I have never known one of these captives put in irons like other slaves, nor have I ever known one who did not become a Christian, or who was not treated with great kindness. I have often been invited by masters to the baptism or marriage of these strangers, and quite as much ceremony has been observed as if it were on behalf of a child or relation."

There was, however, another side to this question. The profits to be obtained from the trade with Africa—consisting principally of negro slaves and gold—was such that it not only, by appealing to the avidity of the Portuguese, induced them to acquiesce in Dom Henrique's schemes of discovery, which they had previously opposed on account of their cost, but it filled all Europe with a desire to embark under the flag of the Portuguese, in order to share in the benefits of this trade. A company of merchants at Lagos obtained from the Prince, in 1443, a charter for the exclusive right of trading with the Moors of the African coast for a limited time; and, in the following year, a few vessels belonging to this first Royal

African Company arrived at a small island called Nar. But instead of trading with the Moors, they made a hostile attack upon them, slew many, and brought off 155 captives. Prince Henry afterwards built a fort on the little island of Arguin for the accommodation of the Company; and there they established their factory, to which they sent, annually, ships with woollen cloth, linen, corn, &c., and some silver. These they exchanged with the Moors, or Arabs, for negro slaves and gold-dust.

Early in the fifteenth century Dom Henrique conceived the idea of obtaining possession of the Canary Islands; these were, however, claimed by Castile, in virtue of the King having, in 1402, assisted the Norman Jean de Bétheucourt in conquering them, and to whom in consequence he made homage of the islands. The rival claims of the two kingdoms remained unsettled till 1479, when, on the 4th of September, the treaty of peace was signed at Alcaçova, between Affonso V. of Portugal and Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile, according to the terms of which "the conquests from Cape Non to the Indies, with the seas and islands adjacent, should remain in possession of the Portuguese, but the Canaries and Granada should belong to the Castilians."

In 1433 the Azores were discovered by one of Dom Henrique's expeditions. In 1455 and 1456 Luigi Cadamosto, a Venetian gentleman, entered the service of the Prince, who entrusted him with the charge of an expedition which discovered the Cape de Verde Islands, and made also most important visits to the Senegal, the Gambia, and the Rio Grande. Dom Henrique did not live to see the successful results of his enterprises, for he died on the 13th November, 1460, shortly after taking part in an expedition against Alcaçar Seguer. He was buried in the church of St. Mary, in Lagos, but his body was subsequently removed to the monastery of Santa Maria de Batalha, where his tomb still exists, and on it is inscribed the Prince's well-known motto, "Talent de bien faire."

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1461 to 1484.

King Affonso V., the nephew of Dom Henrique, being desirous of having a map of the world projected, entrusted all the plans that had been prepared by his uncle to the Venetian Fra Mauro, of the Camaldolese Convent of San Miguel de Murano. On this map, which occupied three years in construction, and which preceded by forty years the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco da Gama, the southern extremity of Africa was clearly laid down under the name of "Cavo di Diab," and to the north-east of that point are inscribed the names of "Soffala," and "Xengibar." This information was most probably obtained through the Arab traders, either from their own knowledge or from information they had received from the natives. In 1461-62 the King sent out two armed caravels, under the command of Pedro de Cintra, by whom the coast of Africa was discovered to some miles south of Sierra Leone. In 1469 the King rented the trade of the African coast to Fernão Gomez for 500 cruzados a year, for five years, reserving the ivory trade only to the Crown, and stipulating for the discovery of a hundred leagues of coast annually. This stipulated exploration was to commence at Sierra Leone, the point reached by the latest previous discoverers. In 1471 the equinoctial line was crossed from north to south for the first time within human knowledge; and by the expiration of his contract Fernão Gomez had made discoveries as far as Cape St. Catherine, two degrees south of the equator.

On the death of Affonso V., his son and successor, João II., entered with zeal into the views of his predecessors, and of his great uncle Dom Henrique. In 1484 Diogo Cão reached the mouth of the Congo river, and in this voyage he was accompanied by the celebrated Martin Behain, the inventor of the application of the astrolabe to navigation. In his next voyage he traversed more than 200 leagues beyond the Congo.

When Diogo Cão was returning for the first time from Congo, one João Affonso de Aveiro was commissioned by

the King of Benin to convey an ambassador to the King of Portugal, with a request that he would send missionaries to teach his people the Christian religion. This negro ambassador informed King João that eastward of Benin, some 350 leagues in the interior, there lived a powerful monarch named Ogane, who held both temporal and spiritual dominion over the neighbouring Kings, and that the King of Benin, on his own elevation to the throne, sent him an embassy with rich presents, and received from him the investiture and insignia of sovereignty. His story tallied so remarkably with the account of Prester John, which had been brought to the peninsula by Abyssinian priests, that the King was seized with an ardent desire to get further information upon the subject, for he plainly saw how immensely his double object of spreading Christianity and extending his commerce by opening the road to the Indies would be furthered by an alliance with such a sovereign. He accordingly determined that the attempt should be made, both by sea and land, to reach the country of Prester John. The results of these expeditions form the subject of another chapter.

At the time when the Portuguese first reached India the Indo-European commerce was entirely in the hands of the Arabs. After the death of Mohammed, the Arabs began to promulgate his doctrines with the sword and to extend the dominions subject to their sway. The rapidity of their successes stands unrivalled in the history of mankind. Having subdued Persia and Egypt, the Greeks were cut off from intercourse with Alexandria, which had for a long time been their principal resort for Indian goods. The Arabs soon appreciated the enormous advantages derivable from Eastern commerce, and entered upon the pursuit of mercantile enterprise with the same ardour which had characterized their efforts as warriors. They speedily outstripped the limits of previous nautical investigation, and imported many of the most costly com-

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modities of the East immediately from the countries which produced them. In order to give every possible encouragement to commerce, Khalif Omar founded the city of Bussora, on the west bank of the Shat-el-Arab, between the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates and the Persian Gulf, a station scarcely inferior to Alexandria for the shipping engaged in the Indian trade.* Although the Arabs in the course of the seventh and eighth centuries made several descents upon Guzerat, the Gulf of Cambay, and Malabar, they made no fixed stay upon these coasts; but a considerable number of individual merchants established themselves there, and gained for themselves a reputation for commercial probity. They had also possessed themselves of the whole of the north coast of Africa, from the Delta of the Nile to the Straits of Gibraltar, together with a great part of Spain. The Christian races were thus cut off from the Eastern commerce, with the exception of a small inland trade that had been established through Tartary.

With the rise of Venice, a closer intercourse than previously existed was established between the Christians and Mohammedans; the ancient channel of intercourse with India by Egypt was again laid open, and Venetian merchants became the distributors of Indian produce over the west of Europe.

About the middle of the eleventh century the empire of the khalifs began to decline, and this was followed by the irruptions of the Turks, whose invasion of Syria and Palestine was one of the proximate causes of the crusades. These expeditions, while they naturally revived the old hostility between the Christians and Mohammedans, opened the eyes of the sovereigns of the West to the wealth that was to be obtained from the commerce of the East. The merchants who were associated with these adventurous expeditions obtained for themselves permission to settle at Acre, Aleppo, and other trading

* Introduction to *India in the Fifteenth Century*. Hakluyt Society.

towns on the coast of Syria, together with a variety of commercial privileges; and by these means the cities of Venice, Genoa, Amalfi, Pisa, and Florence entirely engrossed the Indian trade. A strong competition soon arose between the Genoese and Venetians for the control of this trade. The former, combining with the Greeks, drove the Venetian merchants from Constantinople, and the latter, in retaliation, procured a bull of dispensation from the Pope, by which they were permitted to open a free trade with the infidels, and they were thus enabled to establish their intercourse with India upon a more solid basis than that which they had heretofore possessed. By the conquest of the Greek empire by Mohammed II., in 1453, the Genoese were finally expelled from Constantinople, which city then ceased to be a mart for the supply of Indian commodities to the nations of the West. This trade was thereafter monopolized by Egypt and the parts of Syria subject to the Sultans of the Mamlúks, and as the Venetians by their commercial treaties with those powerful princes commanded those channels of intercourse, they were enabled to monopolize the supply of the products of the East to the countries of the West, until the close of the fifteenth century.

At the commencement of the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese first arrived in India, that country was passing through one of those convulsive throes to which it had been subject from the very dawn of history. The Moguls had not as yet invaded India, and it was not until 1526 that Baber founded his empire at Delhi and Agra. Meantime northern India, or Hindustan proper, had been parcelled out amongst a number of Afghan Mussulman chiefs; excepting to the south and west, where the Rajputs still maintained an independent dominion. The remainder of India, known as the Deccan and the Peninsula, was about equally divided between Mussulmans and Hindús. The Deccan was occupied by a powerful Mussulman dynasty known as the Brahmany

CHAP. II.

Sultans. Southward of the Deccan the whole peninsula, corresponding to the present Madras presidency, including Mysore, but exclusive of Malabar, comprised the Hindú kingdom of Narsinga, the last which deserved the name of empire. The territory of Malabar was divided into a number of petty kingdoms, each of which was governed by a Raja; but these Rajas acknowledged the authority of a suzerain, who reigned at the ancient seaport of Calicut, under the title of Zamorin or Emperor. From time immemorial the seaports of Malabar, and especially Calicut, had been famous for their trade in spices, pepper, ginger, and other Indian commodities. The Rajas of the several kingdoms were deeply interested in this trade, for they levied a tax on every sale, and often supplied the cargoes. The principal traders were, however, Mussulmans from Arabia and Egypt, who went by the name of Moors. These men carried away not only rich cargoes to the Red Sea, but shiploads of pilgrims going to Mecca. They landed their pilgrims at Jedda and their goods at Suez. The goods were then carried through Egypt on the backs of camels to the city of Alexandria, where they were again shipped in the vessels of Venetian and Genoese merchants, and conveyed to the different ports in the Mediterranean.

About the time that the Portuguese arrived in India the empire of the Brahmany Mussulmans became dismembered into five separate kingdoms,—namely, Ahmednagar and Berar on the north, Bíjápúr and Golconda on the south, and the petty State of Bider in the centre. The peninsula of Guzerat had been formed into a Mussulman kingdom, the chief city of which was Cambay, which sometimes gave its name to the entire kingdom. The coasts between Guzerat and Malabar, though nominally forming part of the kingdoms of Kandeish, Ahmednagar, and Bíjápúr, were infested by pirates, and the trade in its ports must have been very inferior to that of Malabar.

* *The History of India from the Earliest Ages.* By J. Talbays Wheeler.

CHAPTER III.

Discoveries of Dom João II.—Search for Prester John—Voyage of Bartholomeu de Diaz—Discoveries of Christopher Columbus—Bull of Pope Alexander VI.—Treaty of Tordesillas—Death of Dom João II. and Succession of Dom Manoel to the Throne of Portugal—Voyage of Vasco da Gama, and Discovery of the Sea-Route to India—Melinde—Calicut.

CHAP. III

A.D. 1481 to 1487.

SOON after Dom João II. had ascended the throne, he formed a resolution to endeavour to discover the lands whence spiceries were procured. To this end he first dispatched Father Antonio de Lisboa and Pedro de Montaroyo, charged with a commission to discover where Prester John dwelt; whether his territories reached to the sea; and where the pepper and cinnamon grew, and other sorts of spicerie which were brought to the city of Venice from the countries of the Moors. When these reached Jerusalem, however, they found that without a knowledge of Arabic it would be useless to continue their journey, and they accordingly returned to Lisbon. Having received their report, the King charged João Peres de Covilhão with this duty. He had already served the State in several capacities on former occasions, and had acquired a knowledge of the Arabic tongue in Barbary. With him was associated in this duty Affonso de Paiva, who was also very expert in the Arabic language. For the expenses of this voyage they were granted a sum of 400 cruzadoes out of the Royal Treasury, one half of which they received in cash and the other half in bills on Naples. These men set out on the 7th May, 1487, and proceeded first to Barcelona and then on to Naples. From Naples they took ship to the island of Rhodes, where they stayed a few days, and then crossed to Alexandria, where they were both laid up with the ague.

CHAP. III. A.D. 1487.

Having recovered from their sickness they purchased some wares, and proceeded to Cairo as merchants, where they stayed until they found a company of Moors going to Aden. Joining their caravan, they accompanied them to Tor, on the Red Sea, at the foot of Mount Sinai, where they gained some information relative to the trade with Calicut. Taking ship here they sailed to Suakim, and from thence to Aden, where they parted; Covilhão directed his course towards India, and Paiva passed into Ethiopia; but before parting they appointed to meet again at Cairo on a certain fixed date.

At Aden Covilhão embarked in a Moorish ship for Cananor, on the Malabar coast, and after some stay in that city went to Calicut, where he saw a great quantity of ginger and pepper, which grew there, and was informed that cloves and cinnamon were brought thither from far countries; hence he went to Goa, and from there passed to the island of Ormuz, whence, having informed himself of the trade carried on at that port, he embarked in a ship bound for the Red Sea, and landed at Zeila, a port on the African coast, just outside the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. He joined himself with some Moorish merchants, with whom he proceeded down the coast as far as Sofala. Here he learned that the coast might be sailed all along towards the west, and that there was, not far off, a very great and rich island, which was about 900 miles in length, and which was called by the Moors "The island of the Moon," since known as the island of St. Lawrence, and now by the name of Madagascar. Covilhão had thus made himself acquainted, on the spot, with the character of the Indian trade, and he resolved to venture no further until the valuable information he possessed was conveyed to Portugal. He therefore returned to Zeila, and from thence passed to Aden, and so to Tor and Cairo. Here he stayed for some time, waiting for Affonso de Paiva, but at last met with messengers from King João, who informed him that Paiva had died a short time before.

The names of these messengers were Rabbi Abraham of Beja and Joseph of Lamego. These two men, having already on a previous occasion been in Persia and in Bagdad, had informed the King of the spiceries and riches that were to be found in the island of Ormuz, and they were now, under orders of His Majesty, again on their way thither. Having delivered the King's letter to Covilhão, it was found to contain instructions that if they had already discovered everything contained in their original commission they were to return to Lisbon forthwith, but, if otherwise, they were to send home at once the results already obtained, and to endeavour to search out the rest; but they were, above all, to discover the country of Prester John, and to cause Rabbi Abraham to visit the isle of Ormuz. Covilhão accordingly sent Joseph of Lamego back to Lisbon with a full account of all the places he had visited and what he had seen, and he further informed the King that if his ships which traded with Guinea were only to continue their course along the coast to Sofala, they would not only discover the island of the Moon, but might also strike into the Eastern seas, and so reach the coast of Calicut. As for himself, he proposed to accompany Rabbi Abraham to Ormuz, and, after his return thence, he would seek out Prester John, whose country, he had ascertained, reached unto the Red Sea.

Covilhão then proceeded with Rabbi Abraham to Ormuz, and returned again to Aden, whence Abraham returned to Lisbon, but Covilhão passed into Ethiopia, and came to the court of Prester John, which was, at that time, not far from Zeila. Here he was very courteously received, but experienced great difficulty in obtaining permission to leave the country. At last he was dispatched with many presents and accompanied by a large retinue. The Prete (as the Prester John, surnamed Alexander, was called) also sent by him, as a present to the King of Portugal, a great crown of gold

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1487.

and silver. In delivering it to the King, Covilhão was to say, on behalf of the "Prete," "that a crown is not wont to be taken from the father's head, but only for the son, and that he was his son, and that he had taken the same from his own head to send it to the King of Portugal, who was his father, and that he sent him the same as the most precious thing that he had at that instant, offering him all the favours, aid, and succours, as well of men as of gold and victuals, which he should stand in need of for his fortresses and fleets, and for the wars which he would make against the Moors in these parts of the Red Sea, even unto Jerusalem."

Covilhão was not, however, destined to complete his journey home. A quarrel broke out on the way between one of his escort and some Moors, in consequence of which two of the latter were apprehended and sent as prisoners to the "Prete," who immediately dispatched two high officials from his court to recall the expedition, and Covilhão had consequently to return with the rest, and was taken to Shoa, the residence of the court. Here he met with a very favourable reception, and in course of time became so necessary to the Prince, that he was compelled to spend the remainder of his life in Abyssinia. He married in that country, and from occupying highly-important posts, amassed a considerable fortune. He passed thirty-three years of his life in Abyssinia, and died there.

A.D. 1486

It has been stated in the preceding chapter that Dom João also sent out an expedition by sea for the discovery of the country of Prester John. The command of this was entrusted to Bartholomeu de Diaz, a member of a family of daring navigators, which had already contributed, in no small degree, to the successful discoveries of recent years: thus João Diaz had been one of the first who had doubled Cape Bojador; Lourenço Diaz was the first to reach the bay of Arguin; and Diniz Diaz was the first to reach the land of the

blacks, and even Cape Verde, to which he gave its name.

The expedition of Bartholomeu de Diaz consisted of two ships of fifty tons each, with a tender for carrying provisions. He was in one of the ships; and the other was commanded by Juan Infante, another knight; whilst in the tender was Captain Pedro Diaz, brother to the commander. The expedition started about the end of August, 1486, making directly for the south, and, passing the Manga das Areas, where Diogo Cão had placed his furthest pillar, they reached a bay to which they gave the name of Angra dos Ilheos. The point is now called Diaz Point, or Pedestal Point. Proceeding southward, Diaz reached another promontory, where he was delayed five days in struggling against the weather, and the frequent tacks he had to make induced him to call it Angra das Voltas, or Cape of the Turns or Tacks. It is now called Cape Voltas, and forms the south point of the Orange river. From this they were driven before the wind for thirteen days due south, with half-reefed sails, and out of sight of land, when suddenly they were surprised to find a striking change in the temperature, the cold increasing greatly as they advanced. When the wind abated, Diaz, not doubting that the coast still ran north and south, as it had done hitherto, steered in an easterly direction with the view of striking it, and, finding that no land made its appearance, he altered his course for the north, and came upon a bay where were a number of cowherds tending their kine, who were greatly alarmed at the sight of the Portuguese, and drove their cattle inland. Diaz gave the bay the name of Angra das Vaqueiros, or the Bay of the Cowherds. It is the present Flesh Bay, near Gauritz river. He had rounded the Cape without knowing it.

In proceeding eastward from Flesh Bay, Diaz reached another bay, to which he gave the name of São Braz, where he put in to take water. Continuing east, he reached a small island in Algoa Bay, on which he set up

CHAP. III. a pillar with a cross, and the name of Santa Cruz, which he gave to the rock, still survives.

A.D. 1487. This was the first land beyond the Cape which was trodden by European feet. Still going onwards a river was reached, some twenty-five leagues beyond the island of Santa Cruz, and as João Infante, the captain of the "S. Pantaleon," was the first to land, they called the river the Rio do Infante. It was that now known as the Great Fish river. Here the remonstrances and complaints of the crews compelled Diaz to turn back. Passing Santa Cruz, and sailing onwards to the west, he at length came in sight of that remarkable cape, which had been hidden from the eyes of man for so many centuries. In remembrance of the perils they had encountered in passing that tempestuous point, he gave to it the name of "Cabo Tormentoso," or Stormy Cape; but when he reached Portugal, and made his report to King João II., the latter, foreseeing the realization of the long-coveted passage to India, gave it the enduring name of Cape of Good Hope. Diaz arrived at Lisbon in December, 1487, after an absence of sixteen months and seventeen days. In this voyage he had discovered 350 leagues of coast. This great and memorable discovery was the last that was made in the reign of King João II.

Having already referred (p. 21) to the papal bull by which all lands discovered beyond Cape Bojador to the Indies, inclusive, were conceded in perpetuity to the Crown of Portugal, it is necessary to refer briefly to the discoveries of Christopher Columbus, in consequence of which a somewhat similar concession was granted to Spain.

A.D. 1470. Columbus, a Genoese, appears to have gone to Lisbon to reside about the year 1470, and, whilst there, he began to surmise, as stated by his son Ferdinão, "that if the Portuguese sailed so far south, one might also sail westward, and find lands in that direction." At Lisbon Christopher Columbus married Felipa Moñiz de Perestrello, daughter of Bertollomeu Perestrello, from

whose maps and papers Columbus derived much information, and, in order to acquaint himself practically with the method pursued by the Portuguese in navigating to the coast of Guinea, he sailed several times in their ships as if he had been one of them. "It was not only," says Ferdinão Columbus, "this opinion of certain philosophers, that the greatest part of our globe is dry land, that stimulated the admiral; he learned also, from many pilots, experienced in the western voyages to the Azores, and to the island of Madeira, facts and signs which convinced him that there was an unknown land toward the west." Martin Vicente, pilot of the King of Portugal, told him that, at a distance of 450 leagues from Cape St. Vincent, he had taken from the water a piece of wood sculptured very artistically, but not with an iron instrument. This wood had been driven across by the west wind, which made the sailors believe that certainly there were, on that side, some islands not yet discovered. Pedro Correa, the brother-in-law of Columbus, told him that near the island of Madeira he had found a similar piece of sculptured wood, and coming rom the same direction; he had also said that the King of Portugal had received information of large canes having been taken up from the water in those parts, which between one knot and another would hold nine bottles of wine. Herrerd states also that the King had preserved these canes, and caused them to be shown to Columbus. The colonists of the Azores related that when the wind blew from the west, the sea threw up, especially in the islands of Graciosa and Fayal, pines of a foreign species. Others related that, in the island of Flores, they found one day, on the shore, two corpses of men, whose physiognomy and features differed entirely from those of our coasts.

While Columbus* was at Lisbon, a correspondence was

* The particulars of the development by Christopher Columbus of his project for the discovery of a western route to India have been taken from the late Mr. R. H. Major's Introduction to *Select Letters from Columbus*, published by the Hakluyt Society.

CHAP. III. A.D. 1484. being carried on between Fernão Martins, a prebendary of that place, and the learned Paolo Toscanelli, of Florence, respecting the commerce of the Portuguese to the coast of Guinea, and the navigation of the ocean to the westward. This came to the knowledge of Columbus, who forthwith dispatched by an Italian, then at his house, a letter to Toscanelli informing him of his project. With his reply Toscanelli, expressing approval of his design, sent him a copy of a letter which he had written to Martins a few days before, accompanied by a chart, the most important features of which were laid down from the descriptions by Marco Polo. The coasts of Asia were drawn at a moderate distance from the opposite coasts of Europe and Africa, and the islands of Cipango, Antilla, &c., of whose riches such astonishing accounts had been given by this traveller, were placed at convenient spaces between the two continents.

The political position of Portugal, engrossed as it was by its wars with Spain, rendered the thoughts of an application for an expensive fleet of discovery worse than useless, and several years elapsed before a convenient opportunity presented itself for making the proposition. But shortly after the perfecting of the astrolabe by the joint labours of the celebrated Martin Behaim and the Prince's two physicians, Roderigo and Josef, who were the most able geographers and astronomers in the kingdom, Columbus submitted to the King of Portugal his proposition of a voyage of discovery, and succeeded in obtaining an audience to advocate his cause. He explained his views with respect to the facility of the undertaking from the form of the earth, and the comparatively small space that intervened between Europe and the eastern shores of Asia, and proposed, if the King would supply him with ships and men, to take the direct western route to India across the Atlantic.

His application was received at first discouragingly, but the King was at length induced, by the excellent arguments of Columbus, to make a conditional con-

cession, and the result was that the proposition was referred to a council of men supposed to be learned in maritime affairs. The council, consisting of the above-named geographers, Roderigo and Josef, and Cazadilla, Bishop of Ceuta, the King's confessor, treated the question as an extravagant absurdity. The King, not satisfied with their judgment, then convoked a second council, consisting of a considerable number of the most learned men in the kingdom; but the result of their deliberations was only confirmative of the verdict of the former junta, and a general sentence of condemnation was passed upon the proposition. As the King still manifested an inclination to make a trial of the scheme of Columbus, and expressed a proportionate dissatisfaction with the decisions of these two juntas, some of his councillors, who were inimical to Columbus, and at the same time unwilling to offend His Majesty, suggested a process which coincided with their own views, but which was at once short-sighted, impolitic, and ungenerous. Their plan was to procure from Columbus a detailed account of his design under the pretence of subjecting it to the examination of the council, and then to dispatch a caravel on the voyage of discovery under the false pretext of conveying provisions to the Cape Verde Islands. King João, contrary to his general character for prudence and generosity, yielded to their insidious advice, and their plan was acted upon; but the caravel which was sent out, after keeping to its westward course for some days, encountered a storm, and the crew having no real heart in the project, returned to Lisbon, ridiculing the scheme in excuse of their own cowardice.

So indignant was Columbus at this unworthy manœuvre that he resolved to leave Portugal and offer his services to some other country, and towards the end of 1484 he left Lisbon secretly with his son Diogo. It has been affirmed that he proceeded first to Genoa and made a personal proposition to that Government, but met with a contemptuous refusal. Towards the close of the last

CHAP. III. A.D. 1486 to 1492.

mentioned year it is certain that Columbus went to Spain and arrived at the Convent de la Rabida in a very impoverished condition. By the influence of the friar of that convent, Columbus proceeded to Cordova in the spring of 1486, with introductions to Fernando de Talavera, confessor to the Queen and a man possessed of great political interest He, however, regarded the design as unreasonable and preposterous. The court also was at that time so engrossed with the war at Granada as to preclude any hope of gaining attention to his novel and expensive proposition. At length, at the close of 1486, the theory of Columbus, backed as it was by his forcible arguments, gained weight with Mendoza, Archbishop of Toledo and Grand Cardinal of Spain, and by means of his influence an audience with the Sovereigns was obtained, and the result of the interview was the expression of a favourable opinion, qualified by the necessity of an appeal to the judgment of the *literati* of the country. These, after numerous delays, reported that the scheme was too groundless to be recommended, and Columbus was accordingly informed that the cares and expenses of the war against the Moors precluded the possibility of their Highnesses engaging in any new enterprises, but that when it was concluded there would be both the will and the opportunity to give the subject further consideration.

In Argensola's *Anales de Aragon* it is stated that when the King looked coldly on Columbus' proposals, because the royal finances had been drained by war, Isabella offered her jewels for the enterprise ; but this was rendered needless, as Luis de Santangel, Escrisano de Racion de Aragon, advanced 17,000 florins for the expenses of the armada.

At length, having overcome all difficulties, Columbus set sail, with a fleet of three ships, on the 3rd of August, 1492, on his unprecedented and perilous voyage. Shortly after the return of Columbus from this successful voyage of discovery, the Spanish King obtained from Pope Alexander VI. (Rodrigo Borgia) the celebrated Papal Bull,

which granted to Spain, westward, similar privileges to those which had previously been granted to Portugal relative to their discoveries eastward. The circumstances relating to the issuing of this bull were as follows:—

On the 8th January, 1454, Pope Nicholas V., as has been already stated (*vide* p. 21), granted to Affonso V., King of Portugal, an exclusive right to all the countries that might be discovered by his subjects between Cape Non, on the west coast of Africa, and the continent of India. After the first voyage of Christopher Columbus and the discovery of Hispaniola (Haiti), Ferdinand, King of Aragon, and Isabella, Queen of Castile, wished to obtain from the Pope a recognition of their rights to all countries discovered by their squadrons. Pope Alexander VI., who then occupied the papal chair, was, by birth, a subject of King Ferdinand's, and he was anxious to secure the assistance of that monarch for certain ambitious designs he had in view. There existed, therefore, no difficulty in obtaining from him the desired recognition. Accordingly, on the 4th May, 1493, Pope Alexander issued a bull (see Appendix) granting to Ferdinand and Isabella, by virtue of his apostolic and pontifical power, the same rights and privileges in respect to the countries discovered to the south and west as the Portuguese possessed over their African discoveries, and under the same conditions of promulgating the Christian faith; and, further, with the view of preventing any future dispute between the two Powers as to their respective possessions, an imaginary line of demarcation was indicated, limiting the pretensions of the two Powers respectively. This line was a meridian drawn from the north to the south pole, running 100 leagues from the west of the Azores and Cape de Verde Islands, so that all the islands and lands discovered, or to be discovered, to the west of that line, which had not already been occupied by a Christian Power before the previous Christmas Day, were to belong to the aforesaid King and Queen, and to their

CHAP. III. A.D. 1494. heirs and successors, as those to the east of the same line were to belong to the Crown of Portugal. In laying down this line of demarcation it is clear that the two groups of the Azores and Cape de Verde Islands were confused together as being only one group; and, further, it does not appear to have occurred to the author of this bull that the two nations, by pursuing their respective courses of discoveries and annexations, would probably meet in the opposite hemisphere; and it was not long before this took place.

The King of Portugal was very discontented with the division made by the Pope, and, after having vainly protested at the Court of Rome, he proposed a conference on the subject to Ferdinand and Isabella, which they accepted in order to avoid a quarrel. Commissioners were accordingly appointed by both parties, who met at Tordesillas in 1494. The Portuguese complained that the line drawn by the Pope was too near to Africa, and prevented them from extending their discoveries and conqests towards the new continent, the extent of which was as yet but little known. In the result it was eventually agreed to extend the line laid down by Alexander VI. for 270 leagues towards the west, or 370 leagues from the Cape de Verde Islands, all to the west of that line to belong to the Sovereigns of Aragon and Castile, and all to the east to the Crown of Portugal.

The 3rd Article of the Treaty of Tordesillas, drawn up in accordance with this agreement, indicated how the line of demarcation was to be fixed; the 4th Article stipulated that Spanish vessels should have free right of navigation across the seas assigned to Portugal; and the 5th Article laid down that the new line should only be binding in respect to islands or territories which might have been discovered subsequently to the 20th June, 1494. It was further agreed that these arrangements should be submitted to the Pope for his confirmation, which was accorded in a bull dated the 24th June, 1506.

The conditions of the 3rd Article of Treaty, under which able officers were to be sent to the spot for the purpose of fixing and demarcating the points at 370 leagues distant from the Cape de Verde Islands, were never carried out, and, as a matter of fact, it is not easy to conceive how they could have been, seeing that no European had as yet set his foot in the countries which the line would touch. Nevertheless, the want of this demarcation was sure to produce new altercations as soon as the vessels of the two nations happened to come across each other in any part of the great Indian Ocean, as, it will be seen, actually did occur later on.

After this digression we must now return to the current of events following the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope.

The consequences of this important discovery were not immediately grasped. Soon after the return of Bartholomeu de Diaz, King João II. was seized with a severe illness, and the condition of His Majesty's health and the personal anxieties accruing from the state of his kingdom, together with his domestic troubles, presented serious obstacles to the development of those schemes with regard to India that cannot fail to have presented themselves to his mind after the momentous voyage of that navigator. King João II. died on the 25th October, 1495, and he was succeeded by King Manoel, whose first thought was to resume the distant maritime explorations which had already reflected so much honour on the far-sighted intelligence of their initiator, Prince Henry. Before entering upon this enterprise, however, he consulted Abraham Zakut, a Jew of Beja, and celebrated mathematician, who had also the credit of being a great astrologer. He having cast the King's horoscope, and declared it to be favourable to the enterprise, Dom Manoel entered into it with energy and zeal. According to Gaspar Correa, King João II., before his death, at the instance of one Janifante, a foreign merchant, ordered three tall ships to be

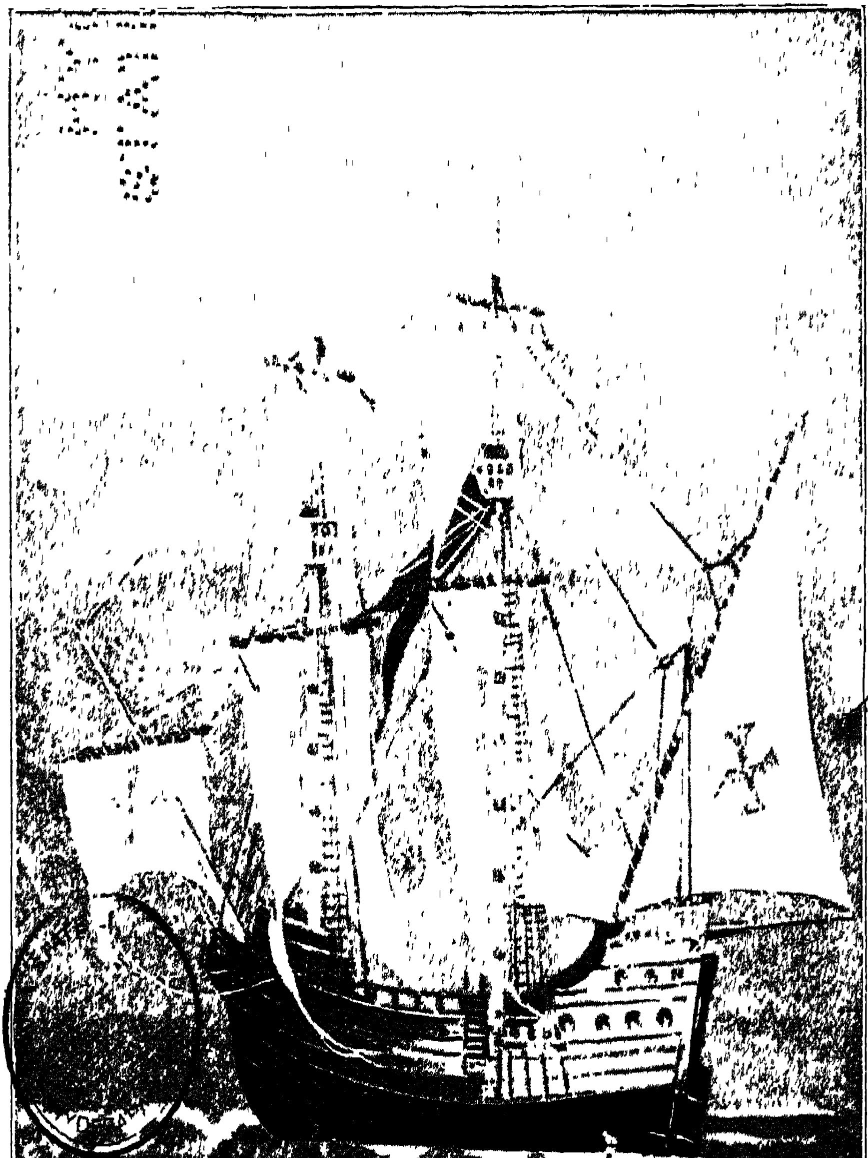
CHAP. III.

A.D. 1496.

constructed, which would be able to stand out to sea, with the view of employing them in a projected voyage to India. He had also been informed by a leading merchant in Venice of the great riches and trade which issued from India, which was the principal commerce of Venice because it went thence to all parts, including Spain and Lisbon. This correspondence was discovered by King Manoel, who ordered the three ships that had been commenced to be completed.

For the command of this expedition* the king selected Vasco da Gama, the son of Estevão da Gama, who had been Comptroller of the Household of the King Dom Affonso. In the accounts of this expedition differences occur amongst the several authors, and there is some variation in respect to details between Correa and de Barros. The former states that Vasco da Gama went in the ship "São Rafael," Paulo da Gama (his brother) in the "São Gabriel," and Nicolau Coelho in the other ship "São Miguel." De Barros, on the other hand, says that Vasco da Gama went in the "São Gabriel," with Pedro de Alanquer as pilot, who had been to the Cape of Good Hope, and Diogo de Diaz, brother of Bartholomeu de Diaz, as clerk. Paulo da Gama was captain of the "São Rafael," Joam de Coimbra pilot and Joam de Sá clerk. The third ship, named "Berrio," had as captain Nicolau Coelho, Pedro Escolar as pilot, and Alvaro de Braga as clerk. Historians assert that these ships were about 120 tons each, but by other competent authorities it is considered that they must have been much larger, and probably from 250 to 300 tons register. De Barros states that there was also another ship, whose captain was Gonzalo Nunes, a servant of Vasco da Gama, "which went only manned so that

* Barreto de Rezende, in his treatise on the Viceroys of India, states that this expedition was first planned in 1496, and that about the middle of the following year the whole fleet was fully equipped and only awaited orders to start. The ships were built on plans designed by Bartholomeu de Diaz and João Infante, who, having doubled the Cape, knew better than anyone else the best style of ship for the purpose.



VASCO DA GAMA'S SHIP "S. GABRIEL"

From "Noticia Sobre a Nao S Gabriel, &c," Lisbon

after the stores of the ships had begun to be expended they might take the superabundant provisions which this ship carried, and its crew would go over to the other ships." Again, as to the numbers who accompanied this expedition; these have been variously stated to have been 240, 170, and 148. Castanheda states that the store ship, which had been bought from Ayres Correa, was of 200 tons. It is, however, now authoritatively accepted that the "S. Gabriel" was commanded by Vasco da Gama, the "S. Miguel" by Paulo da Gama, and the "Berrio" by Nicolau Coelho.*

The following description of the "São Gabriel" has recently been published by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Lisbon: "The appearance of this vessel was of a most irregular shape. In the bow there was a large forecastle, and the stern was considerably raised above the water-line, this conjunction of forms giving the ship an enormous floating power and great strength, but as regards nautical conditions, of a very deficient character. It would appear from drawings and documents, believed to be authentic, that the dimensions of the 'São Gabriel' were as follows: Length at water-line, $19^{m.}$ 5; extreme length, 25^{m} 60; beam 8^{m} 5, or about one-third of the extreme length; draught forward, $1^{m.}$ 70; draught aft, $2^{m.}$ 30. The tonnage of the 'São Gabriel' is stated in records to have been 100 tons, and was supposed to have carried, when fully equipped, 178 tons. The rigging consisted of three masts, and a pole in the bow answering the purpose of a bowsprit, the sails being six in number,—viz., mainsail, foresail, mizen, spritsail, and two topsails. The 'São Gabriel' carried an armament of 20 guns, and on maintopmast a white flag with the Portuguese arms of the time of Dom Manoel. Besides this she bore at the 'top' the dis-

* In a publication recently issued by the Portuguese Government in connection with the Columbus Centenary it is stated that the "S. Gabriel" was of 120 tons, the "S. Raphael" 100 tons, the "Berrio" of 50 tons, and the store ship of 200 tons burden; and that the whole force in this fleet numbered 160 men.

CHAP. III. A.D. 1497.

tinctive red flag of a Captain—Mor. There exists now at the Jeronymos Convent at Belem a figure of 'S. Gabriel' which, by tradition, is supposed to be the figurehead of Vasco da Gama's famous ship."

Correa describes their outfit and cargoes as follows. "The King ordered the ships to be supplied with double tackle and sets of sails, and artillery and munitions in great abundance, above all provisions with which the ships were to be filled, with many preserves and perfumed waters, and in each ship all the articles of an apothecary's shop for the sick; a master, and a priest for confession. The King also ordered all sorts of merchandise of what was in the kingdom and from outside of it, and much gold and silver, coined in the money of all Christendom and of the Moors. And cloths of gold, silk, and wool, of all kinds and colours, and many jewels of gold, necklaces, chains, and bracelets, and ewers of silver and silver gilt, yataghans, swords, daggers, smooth and engraved, and adorned with gold and silver workmanship. Spears and shields, all adorned so as to be fit for presentation to the Kings and rulers of the countries where they might put into port; and a little of each kind of spice. The King likewise commanded slaves to be bought who knew all the languages which might be fallen in with, and all the supplies which seemed to be requisite were provided in great abundance and in double quantities."

The expedition rode at anchor off Belem for three days waiting for a fair wind; but there seems to be some uncertainty as to the day on which they actually sailed, Correa fixing it as the 25th March, de Barros as the 8th, and Osorio the 9th July, whilst according to another account it was on the 2nd June, 1497: one asserting that it occurred on the day of our Lady of March, and another on the day of our Lady of Belem. From a careful consideration of all the circumstances of this voyage it seems probable that the earliest date was the correct one. The expedition made its way to the Cape de Verde Islands, and after two

unsuccessful attempts, during which the sailors clamoured to be allowed to return to Portugal, they succeeded in doubling the Cape. The exact date of this event is also uncertain, but it was most probably in October or November. Having sighted land, they ran along the coast for some distance, and encountered a violent storm, which placed them in great jeopardy, as their ships were too weak to withstand the force of the waves. Proposals were again made to turn back, which Vasco da Gama absolutely refused to do, and threatened to throw overboard anyone who might speak of such a thing, as he had sworn that he would not turn back one span's breadth until he had obtained the information he had come to seek. As the stormy weather continued, some of the sailors organized a conspiracy to overpower their officers and take the ships back to Lisbon. This mutiny was hatched on board of Nicolau Coelho's vessel, and was privately communicated to him by one of his crew. It having come to the knowledge of Vasco da Gama, he seized the ringleaders, whom he loaded with irons and confined in their cabins, and thus suppressed the contemplated rising.

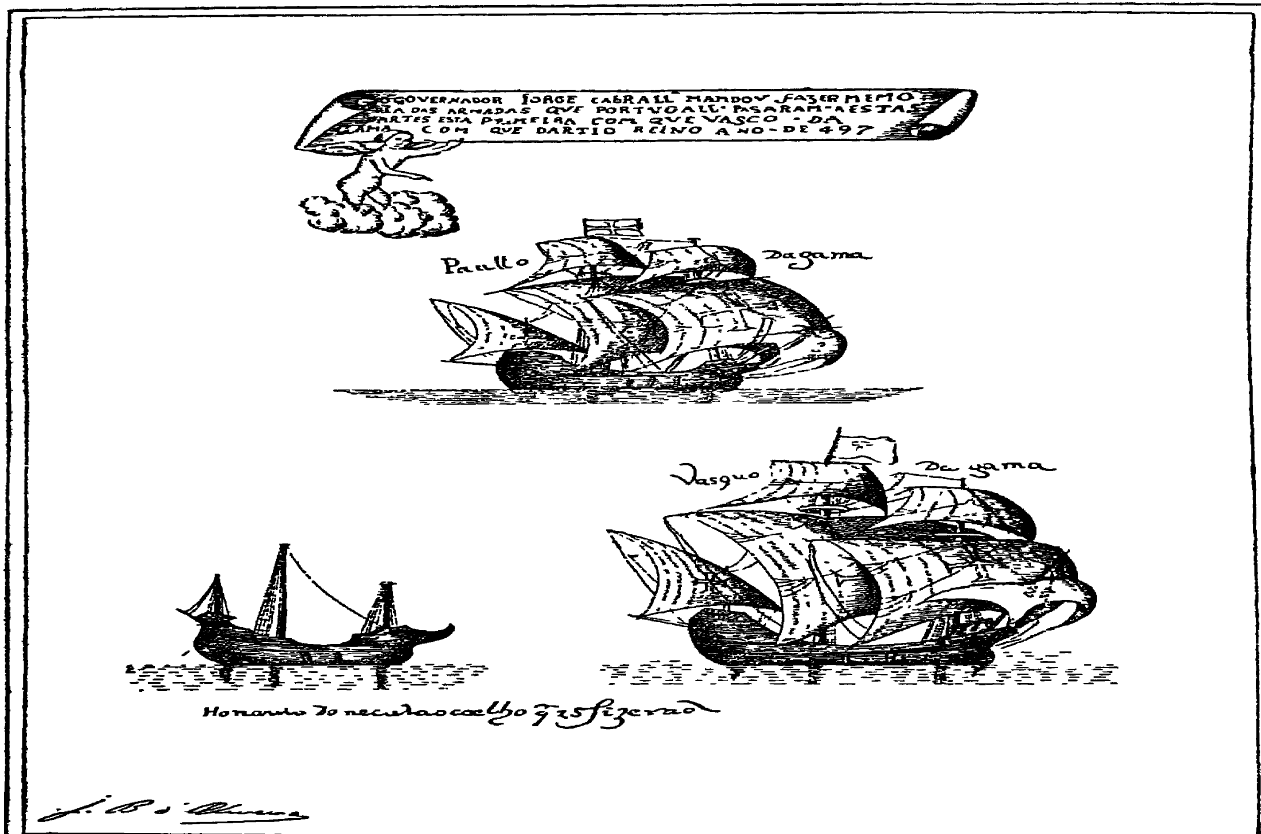
The weather having calmed down, the vessels soon came in sight of land, and as this occurred on Christmas Day the country was named Terra de Natal. Sailing further on they reached the mouth of a large river, where they careened the ships and repaired them, and having transferred to the other vessels everything from Nicolau Coelho's ship, which was damaged beyond the power of repair, having many of her ribs and knees fractured,* it was decided to break her up in order to repair the other vessels. The men and cargo were divided between the other ships. Faria-y-Sousa says they burnt the store ship; but in another account it is stated that before reaching the Cape of Good Hope they stowed away the supplies of the store

* According to one account it was the "S. Miguel," and according to another the "S. Gabriel" which was broken up.

CHAP III. ship in the other vessels, and that Nunes thereupon returned with it to Portugal.

A.D. 1498. Vasco da Gama resumed his voyage on the 24th February, 1498, with two ships only, and arrived at Mozambique one day in March. On the way thither they overhauled a canoe, and took out of it a Moorish broker from Bombay, Davané by name, but afterwards surnamed Taibo, from whom Vasco da Gama received much useful counsel and advice, and who saved him from the treachery of the Sheikh of Mozambique. None of the crews landed here, but having put on shore a convict, João Machado by name, the vessels followed the coast until they reached Quiloa. They were unable to put in here (where also a trap had been laid for their destruction by a Moorish pilot they had on board) on account of an adverse wind which prevented them from making that port; so, passing, they ran along the coast to Mombassa, where they arrived early in April, and anchored outside the bar. Here they narrowly escaped being wrecked by the treachery of the King, who sent pilots on board for that especial purpose, with a pressing invitation to Vasco da Gama to bring his ships into port. They, however, got safely away, after having put a Portuguese convict, named Pedro Didey, on shore. It is supposed that the inhospitable reception of da Gama at these places was due to the jealousy of the Arabs, who were unwilling to see these new rivals entering upon the trade which had hitherto been exclusively in their hands.

Leaving Mombassa, Vasco da Gama steered his course along the coast, and shortly after starting one afternoon he sighted two sambuks, one of which was captured, but the other escaped. Proceeding onwards, the vessels reached Melinde, and anchored off that port at the end of April, 1498. On the arrival of the Portuguese ships the King sent out to them a message of welcome, and after the exchange of courtesies between Vasco da Gama and the King, the Moor Davané was sent on shore to



THE FLEET OF VASCO DA GAMA.

From "Os Navios de Vasco da Gama," por Joao Braz d'Oliveira, Lisbon

speak with His Majesty. Subsequently, at the request of the King, Nicolau Coelho was sent on shore to visit him; and later on Vasco da Gama, accompanied by his captains, held an interview with His Majesty in boats on the sea, and presented to him a sword in a handsome gold and enamelled scabbard, with a sword-belt, a lance of gilt iron, and a buckler lined with crimson satin, worked with gold thread. The King received this present very graciously, and promised to keep it as an evidence of his friendship towards the King of Portugal.

On the following day Vasco da Gama went in great state to visit the King on shore, where he was received with much honour. Upon discussing on the subject of his projected voyage to India, the King informed him that he should not proceed to Cambay, as had been suggested by the broker Davané, because that country did not produce the articles he desired to obtain, but they were taken there from a distance, and were consequently much dearer than in the land where they grew; but he promised to give him pilots who would take him to the city of Calicut, where the pepper and ginger grew, and other drugs and merchandise were also procurable in almost unlimited quantities. The King also spoke to Davané,* and enjoined him to deal honourably with the Portuguese, which he solemnly promised to do.

Da Gama was now anxious to get away as early as possible, but was informed that he would yet have to remain there another three months, until the month of August, which was the time of the monsoon for the navigation. This interval da Gama made use of in refitting and recaulking his ships, and laying in a new set of rigging and cables, which the crews occupied themselves in making of the coir of the country. Before leaving Melinde, the King paid a visit to the Portuguese ships, and was much pleased with the reception he there met with; and, with His Majesty's permission, Vasco da

* At Melinde Davané acquired the *soubriquet* of "Taibo," which means "good," and after this we find him constantly referred to by that name.

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Gama set up, on the top of a hill outside the city, a white marble column, carved with the escutcheon and name of King Dom Manoel. The King then, having provided the ships with everything that could be required, sent also two of the best pilots that were to be found, one of whom was named Malemo Cana, a Moor of Guzerat. After a formal leave-taking, Vasco da Gama set sail from Melinde on the 6th August, and in twenty days' time Mount Dely, in the kingdom of Cananor, was sighted; and thence, coasting along within sight of the land, the pilots cast anchor off the town of Capucad, or Capocate, two league from the city of Calicut.

Calicut was, at this time, the most important place of trade in the whole of India, and it is said that the Arabs had established a trade here 600 years before. The town contained a large number of foreign and native Arabs; some of them, merchants of Grand Cairo, brought large fleets of many ships, with much trade of valuable goods from Mecca; and they took back in return pepper and drugs, which were transported thence to Turkey, and to all the provinces of Christendom, by exchange from country to country. In consequence of their great wealth the Arabs were more influential and respected in the country than the natives themselves.*

* The foundation of Calicut is traditionally ascribed to Cheraman Perumál, the lord of Malabar. The residence of the King of that province had formerly been at Coulam (Quilon), and when the Moors of Mecca discovered the Indies, and settled in Malabar, they converted the King, who became so zealous a devotee that he determined to go and end his days at Mecca. Before he departed he divided his dominions among his kindred, reserving only a small portion of twelve leagues, from which he was to embark, and which was never before inhabited. This he gave to Mana Vikrama the Samori, or Zamorin, commanding that the same should be inhabited, in memorial of his embarkation, investing him with his sword and turban, and commanding all others to be obedient to him as their emperor. This was the origin of Calicut. At the place where he embarked the city was built, and, out of a principle of devotion all goods were shipped from thence, by which means the port of Conlam (Quilon) became neglected. The merchants removing thither, it was soon one of the richest marts in India. The present town dates from the thirteenth century, and has given its name to the cloth known to the Portuguese as Calicut, and to the English as Calico. The Zamorins rose to great power, and, with the aid of the Moors, or Moplas, extended their dominions both south and east; and the capital is described by the earliest Portuguese visitors as containing many magnificent buildings.

In case any apprehensions should be entertained by the people of Calicut as to the object of the arrival of the Portuguese vessels, Vasco da Gama concocted a story that his ships had been separated from many others with which he had started on his voyage, and that he had come to seek them there. Vasco da Gama had contemplated at once going ashore to see the King, but he was dissuaded from this by the Moor Davané, who advised him not to do so until hostages should have been sent on board as guarantee for his safe return. Several boats came alongside from the shore with fish, poultry, and fruit, from which many purchases were made through Davané and the pilots, whom da Gama instructed to pay whatever prices were asked. This action caused reports to be spread in the town of the liberality of the Portuguese, which also came to the ears of the King. After three days His Majesty sent a Nair, a gentleman of position, to inquire the object for which these foreign ships had arrived at that coast, and da Gama accordingly sent the Moor Davané back with him to relate to the King the fictitious story of the lost fleet, and to explain their desire to trade for spices and drugs. Having been further informed by the Moor of the liberal presents given by da Gama to the King of Melinde, His Majesty offered to supply as much pepper and drugs as could be wished for, and dispatched him back to the ships with many presents of fowls and fruit.

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The Moorish traders of Calicut having heard of the message sent from the King to the Portuguese, offering to supply them with the principal products of that country, and fearing that if they were once admitted to trade here they would not limit themselves to that port, but would extend their commerce to other Indian marts, resolved to adopt every means to get them turned out of the country. This decision they then communicated to other Moorish merchants throughout the coasts of India; and with the view of at once

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carrying their purpose into effect they placed themselves in communication with the King's chief factor, who was the principal overseer of his exchequer, and with the King's *gazil*, or minister of justice. The Moors informed these men that the Portuguese, who came from a very far country, had certainly not arrived all this distance for mere purposes of trade, of which, being a wealthy nation, they had no need, but only to spy out the country, with the view of returning and conquering it by force of arms, and plundering it. They therefore requested that the King might be warned against them, and be careful how he entered into any treaties with them. These arguments the Moorish merchants backed up by liberal presents, with a view to secure also the goodwill of the King's high officers of State.

The broker Davané, having delivered his message to the King, was dismissed without any definite reply, but was informed that he might purchase there in full security anything he might require. When next Davané went on shore, Vasco da Gama sent with him João Nunes, a convict, who could speak Arabic and Hebrew, and could also understand the Moors' language. The instructions given to Nunes were that he was to look well at everything he saw in the city, and at the manner of the inhabitants, and to listen well to what he heard, but not to speak or ask any questions. By an artifice Davané and Nunes were prevented from returning to the ships at night, and they had therefore to sleep in Calicut. This was not altogether unfortunate, for Nunes met with a Moor who, recognizing his nationality, spoke to him in Castilian, and took him to sleep at his own house. This man, Alonzo Perez by name, was a native of Seville, who had turned Mohammedan, and by his services the Portuguese were greatly assisted in their negotiations with the natives, whilst by his timely warnings they were enabled to avoid the plots which had been planned against them by the Moors.

The following day the Castilian went on board Vasco

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da Gama's vessel, and warned the Portuguese of the intention of the Moors to have them turned out of the country if possible. On his return to the shore he was closely questioned by the Moors, who were unaware of his having turned against them, and he gave them such replies and information as had been supplied to him on board the ships. The conclusion they then arrived at was that they would not be able to prevent the King from speaking to the Portuguese, but that after he had received their presents, whilst friendship and commerce were being established, it would be necessary to take such measures as might then seem practicable to prevent them from obtaining cargoes. To this end they determined to spare no expense in securing the willing services of the overseer of the Treasury and of the *gazil*. Accordingly the Moors gave them much money and rich jewels, and they on their part engaged to do all in their power with the King, and to counsel him not to admit the Portuguese into the country, in consideration of which the Moors also offered to pay the King all the losses he might thereby suffer.

Vasco da Gama having sent a message to the King to the effect that he could do nothing without first establishing peace, and that after having effected this he would enter into trade with him, the latter sent a Nair on board to demand that someone should be sent on shore to give explanations on all points he might desire to be informed of, and also to bring word how they wished the peace to be made. Accordingly Nicolau Coelho was sent, accompanied by twelve men, to whom Vasco da Gama gave all the necessary instructions as to how he should act, and what he should demand. On going ashore, Nicolau Coelho was kept waiting outside the King's palace until the evening, when he was informed that the King could not see him that evening. He was prevented from returning to his ship at night, and slept at the house of a native, where the Castilian managed to see him, and told him to dis-

CHAP III. A.D. 1498. semble, because they were exposing him to these delays in order that he might get angry and lose his temper. On the morning Coelho was taken again to the palace, when the King excused himself from seeing him on the plea of indisposition, and desired that any message he wished to deliver should be sent to him through the overseer of the Treasury. This, however, he refused to do, since he had been instructed to deliver it only to the King. After some further delay, during which Nicolau Coelho desired to be allowed to return to the ships, he was at last admitted into the presence of the King, to whom he delivered the message with which he had been entrusted. In reply the King expressed his satisfaction with all he had asked for, and ordered the overseer of the Treasury to see it carried out.

On his return to the shore the Castilian passed by Coelho, and slipped a note into his hand, advising that the Portuguese should make great demonstration over the concessions granted to them, and send on shore a small quantity of merchandise for selling and buying each day, taking care to embark each night what they had purchased during the day; also that a factor should be sent with the broker and João Nunes, and another man, who should be warned not to try and obtain more than was offered. Accordingly Vasco da Gama appointed one Diogo Diaz, a man of the King's establishment, as factor, and Pedro de Braga as clerk, with whom he sent João Nunes, the broker Davané, and the Moorish pilot from Melinde. These went on shore with a selection of merchandise for sale or barter, and the broker was instructed not to show any urgency or obstinacy in dealing, but in everything he was to appear as though well pleased, and to act so that he might be considered simple rather than wary.

These having landed with their merchandise, were allowed to occupy a house in the town for the purposes of trade. Having settled the prices at which they would sell their goods, and also for the purchase of pepper and

drugs, a brisk trade was commenced, which continued for several days, the Portuguese factor striking a balance and settling accounts with the overseer of the Treasury each night, when the goods purchased were also sent on board the ships. For the first few days spice was purchased, and subsequently ginger and cinnamon; the ginger was heavily loaded with red clay, and the cinnamon was old, of a bad quality, and quite unserviceable; but the factor acted as though he did not perceive the deception, and purchased all that was brought to him. Thus he accepted goods at more than double their value, and gave excess of weight on all the merchandise he sold.

When the Moorish merchants perceived the action of the Portuguese in this matter, they naturally entertained great fears as to the security of their own trade. They accordingly again saw the *gazil* and urged upon him that he should counsel the King not to establish peace nor trade with the Portuguese until he should have had many years' experience of their being sincere friends, because it was very clear they were not merchants, but spies, who came to see the country in order that they might afterwards come with a large fleet to take and plunder it. If they were really merchants, the Moors argued, they would not buy in that manner, nor unprofitably give such high prices for that which was worth nothing. By means of further presents the *gazil* was gained over to their side, and he represented to the King that as the Portuguese were not dealing as genuine merchants they were probably men of war who had come to spy out the country for evil purposes; that, therefore, they ought not to be allowed to take in cargo, but rather that they should be killed and their ships burnt, so that they should never return there again. Upon this representation having been made to His Majesty, the King resolved to send for the ambassador at once, and receive his present and message, but that in the meanwhile the Portuguese should be permitted to continue buying as before.

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The King accordingly sent for the ambassador to come to him; but having been previously warned by a message from the Castilian, Vasco da Gama asked that hostages might be sent on board his ships. To this His Majesty agreed, and sent three Nairs of distinction, one of whom was the *gazil's* nephew. The Castilian managed to communicate this last-named fact, and, on the arrival of the hostages, Vasco da Gama detained the nephew of the *gazil* and one of the Nairs. He then went towards the shore accompanied by twelve persons, besides some of his household and a band of trumpeters, and the other Nair, whom he sent to the King to announce his arrival; but as it appeared that His Majesty had gone away, Vasco da Gama refused to land, but said that when the King returned and could see him he would come back again; and he then returned to his ship.

The King having been informed of what had happened returned next day, and sent to tell Vasco da Gama that he was waiting to see him at his palace. The latter immediately went on shore, and, having put on a sumptuous dress, he went in full procession, accompanied by his present for the King. Da Gama's dress consisted of a long cloak, coming down to his feet, of tawny-coloured satin, lined with smooth brocade, underneath which was a short tunic of blue satin, and white buskins. On his head he wore a cap with lappels of blue velvet, with a white feather fastened under a splendid medal; on his shoulders a valuable enamel collar, and a rich sash with a handsome dagger at his waist. His present consisted of a piece of very fine scarlet cloth and a piece of crimson velvet; a piece of yellow satin; a chair covered with brocade of deep nap, studded with silver gilt nails; a cushion of crimson satin with tassels of gold thread, and another cushion of red satin for the feet; a hand-basin chased and gilt, with an ewer of the same kind; a large gilt mirror; fifty scarlet caps with buttons and tassels of

crimson silk and gold thread; and fifty knives of Flanders, with ivory handles and gilt sheaths.

The *catual*, or chief officer of the King's palace guard, came out to meet Vasco da Gama, and conducted him into the King's presence. The King has been described as seated in his chair, which the factor—who had preceded da Gama with the presents—had got him to sit upon. He was a very dark man, half-naked, and clothed with white cloths from the middle to the knees; one of these cloths ended in a long point, on which were threaded several gold rings with large rubies, which made a great show. He had on his left arm a bracelet above the elbow which seemed like three rings together, the middle one larger than the others, all studded with rich jewels, particularly the middle one, which bore large stones that could not fail to be of great value. From this middle ring hung a pendant stone which glittered—a priceless diamond the thickness of a thumb. Round his neck was a string of pearls, about the size of hazel-nuts; the string took two turns, and reached to his middle; above it he wore a thin, round gold chain, which bore a jewel of the form of a heart surrounded with large pearls, and all full of rubies; in the middle was an emerald of great size and value. According to the information which the Castilian afterwards gave to the captain-major of this jewel, and of that which was in the bracelet on his arm, and of another pearl which the King wore suspended in his hair, they were all three belonging to the ancient treasury of the Kings of Calicut. The King had long, dark hair, all gathered up, and tied on the top of his head with a knot made in it; and round the knot he had a string of pearls like those round his neck, at the end of which was a pendant pearl, pear-shaped, and larger than the rest. His ears were pierced with large holes, with many gold earrings of round beads.

Close to the King stood a boy, his page, with a silk cloth round him. He held a red shield with a border of

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gold and jewels, and a boss in the centre of a span's breadth, of the same materials, and the rings inside for the arms were of gold. He also held a short drawn sword of an ell's length, round at the point, with a hilt of gold and jewellery with pendant pearls. On the other side stood another page, who held a gold cup with a wide rim, into which the King spat; and at the side of his chair was his chief Brahman. who gave him, from time to time, a green leaf, closely folded, with other things inside it, which the King ate and spat into the cup. Da Gama was graciously received by the King, and he presented to His Majesty a letter from Dom Manoel, expressing at the same time a desire that the Portuguese might be permitted to trade in his country. The King ordered Dom Manoel's letter to be translated, and, having promised to give his reply at another audience, he dismissed Vasco da Gama, who thereupon retired to the Portuguese factory, where he remained that night.

The next morning the overseer of the Treasury arrived at the factory with some handsome presents, which the King had sent to Vasco da Gama for himself, consisting of twenty pieces of white stuff, very fine, with gold embroidery, which they call "Beyramies"; twenty other pieces called "Sinabafas," ten pieces of coloured silk, four large loaves of Bengoin, as much as a man could carry, and in a porcelain jar fifty bags of musk, six basins of porcelain of the size of large soup-basins, and six porcelain jars, each holding thirty pints of water. Da Gama also, by the broker, gave suitable presents to the overseer of the Treasury and to the *gazil* and the *catual.*

Shortly after this the King desired again to see Vasco da Gama, and, as he had gone away some distance from the port, the *catual* arrived at the factory with two litters, one for himself and the other for Vasco da Gama As they were starting, the Castilian, passing by João Nunes, said to him, "Sufrir y callar" (endure and be patient). This was repeated to Vasco da Gama, and it

made him very angry, as he thereby perceived that a deceit was being practised upon him.

Attended by a few Portuguese the *catual* took him by roads, with many turns, until it became night, when they stopped at some large houses, where they lodged Vasco da Gama and his men in a separate inner house in the middle of the other houses, where they were, to all intents and purposes, detained as prisoners. In the morning the *catual* sent to tell da Gama that the King's orders were for him to remain there, as he could not speak to him; but the messenger refused to take back a reply to the *catual*. After having been thus detained all that day and the succeeding night, the Nairs took them away the next morning, continuing their course through thickets until midday, when they reached the bank of a river. They then put Vasco da Gama with four others into one boat and his other companions in another. Towards night they arrived at a certain village, where they landed, and were put into separate houses, the occupants of the one boat not knowing where those from the other had been confined. After midnight the *catual* sent for Vasco da Gama. He had been urged by the Moors to kill him, but this he dared not do for fear of the King's anger; but every annoyance was practised in the hope of causing him to break out into violence, but without the desired effect. At last the *catual* told him the King's desire was that he should have all his merchandise landed from his ships. This he readily agreed to do, and dispatched João de Setubal with a message to his brother informing him of the treatment he was receiving, and desiring him to send the boat which conveyed João de Setubal back to the factory with merchandise of all sorts. If he saw that they did not then allow him, Vasco da Gama, to return on board, he was to take back the factor, nobody was to go on shore, and he was to keep a good guard over the hostages.

One boat-load of goods was sent on shore, but, upon many other boats being sent for more goods, Paulo da

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Gama wrote to his brother, telling him that if the *catual* did not at once release him he would adopt hostile measures, and destroy all the ships in the port, and that in the meanwhile he should send ashore no more goods. Upon this being communicated to the *catual* he was greatly angered, and sent to the factory, and took the factor and clerk, with the three men who were with them, and Vasco da Gama with three others, and delivered them up to the *gazil* that he might keep them, whilst he himself went to tell the King of the affront which they had given him.

Upon this being reported to the King he ordered the goods in the factory to be at once brought in, and that Vasco da Gama and his companions should be killed. Subsequently, however, on the advice of his Brahman and the overseer of the Treasury, this order was rescinded, and His Majesty determined to wait until the Portuguese should first commence hostile operations.

News having reached the ships of the factor having been taken and the factory closed, a council was held as to what was now to be done, when it was determined to return the hostages with much honour, in the hope that the Portuguese on shore would then be liberated. Accordingly Nicolau Coelho accompanied the two Nairs from the ship who were entrusted with a message to the King that if Vasco da Gama and his companions were not sent back, the King of Portugal would certainly execute vengeance upon him for his treachery and breach of faith. The ships then set sail, and made a pretence of departing, but came to anchor again shortly. The Nairs immediately proceeded to the King, and, in consequence of their pleadings, he made an ample apology to Vasco da Gama, and dismissed him with rich presents, at the same time saying he had been deceived by evil councillors, whom he would surely punish; and that he might embark at once, and go with his good wishes. The factor also was ordered to go with the overseer of the Treasury

to see how much merchandise there was in the factory, which he would immediately order to be paid for; but when he arrived there he found that the factory had been robbed, and this the broker informed him had been done by the King.

Upon embarking with his men, Vasco da Gama bade farewell to the overseer of the Treasury, and said that if at any time he returned to Calicut he would take his revenge upon those who had done him wrong. He was followed into the boat by the Castilian, who on reaching the ships informed Vasco da Gama that all the ill-treatment he had received was caused by the *catual*, who, for the large bribes given him by the Moors, had done everything without the knowledge or assent of the King. Vasco da Gama, before sailing, gave this Castilian a certificate of faithfulness and honesty which he might show to any other Portuguese who might arrive at that port; and he told him to inform the Moors that for love of them he would come back to India, and that the evils they had procured for him would be their destruction.

This message having been repeated to the King, he sent for the Castilian, and dispatched him to the ships, accompanied by one of his Brahmans, to tell Vasco da Gama that he felt very great regret for what had happened, but that he had arrested the person whose fault it was, who would receive suitable punishment; therefore he entreated him to return to Calicut, because he would send on board his ships all the goods required to complete their lading, and all those which had remained on shore, for he did not wish them to go away speaking ill of him. Vasco da Gama replied that he would not then return, but was going back to his country to relate to his King all that had happened to him. He fully admitted that this had been caused by the treachery of his own people with the Moors, and stated that, if at any time he should return to Calicut, he would revenge himself upon the Moors, who had done

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the harm. He would, however, tell his King of the good compliments of the King of Calicut now that he had repented of his error.

Having dismissed the messengers, Vasco da Gama set sail with a fair wind in November, 1498, and shortly afterwards appeared before Cananor. Now the Moors at Calicut had already communicated with their co-religionists at Cananor with regard to the Portuguese, and these, at their instigation, made all sorts of false representations to the King of that place respecting them, in the hope that they might thus interfere with their prospects of trade at that port. His Majesty had, however, received different information from another source, and had made up his mind to give the Portuguese a favourable reception should they arrive at his country. Accordingly, as soon as Vasco da Gama's vessels were seen off Cananor,* the King sent a Nair in a boat urgently to request that they would come into his port. This boat was followed by others containing presents of water and wood, figs, fowls, cocoa-nuts, dried-fish, butter and cocoa-nut oil, accompanied by an offer of as much cargo as their ships could carry.

On receipt of this message, Vasco da Gama determined to establish peace and trade with the King of Cananor, and forthwith stood into the port, where he anchored and fired salutes. The King then sent, as a free gift, more spices and merchandise than the vessels could hold, so that some had to be declined; and Vasco da Gama sent in return large quantities of the goods he had on board to the value of double that which he had received from the King. He also sent Nicolau Coelho with a present to the King, who received it very graciously, and shortly afterwards, at His Majesty's desire, Vasco da Gama, with his captains, met the King, and entered into a treaty with him on behalf of the King of Portugal. On this occasion the King

* Cananor was, according to the legend of the partition of his kingdom by Cheraman Perumal, included in the kingdom of the Chirrakal rajas, to whom the Mopla sea kings owed suzerainty, more or less nominal, down to the time of Haidar Ali's invasion of Malabar.

gave him an engagement signed by himself and his ministers on a gold leaf, together with handsome presents for the King of Portugal; Vasco da Gama at the same time gave the King a handsome sword on behalf of Dom Manoel. After distributing presents to the King's ministers, and the exchange of courtesies generally, Vasco da Gama prepared to depart; but he first dismissed the broker Davané, giving him at the same time very liberal presents and a certificate of his honesty and faithfulness. Having received at the last moment further presents of provisions from the King, Vasco da Gama sailed from Cananor on the 20th November, 1498.

The intention of Vasco da Gama had been to steer straight for Melinde, but the wind having dropped as the ships got out to sea, he steered again for the land and anchored off Anjediva* for some days. News soon spread to the mainland that the Portuguese vessels were in a bay of that island, and Timoja, a pirate, sent some boats disguised in the hope of capturing them; but having been warned of his intentions by some fishermen, Vasco da Gama fired at them before they got near his ships, and they thereupon separated and made for the coast.

Sabayo, the King of Goa, having also heard of the near presence of the Portuguese vessels, sent to them a Grenadine Jew, who was his captain-major at sea, with some boats, with the view, if possible, of bringing them to Goa. His intentions were, however, discovered to the Portuguese by some of the fishermen to whom they had shown great liberality; and not only was the Jew, with many of his men, captured, but all his boats were taken and most of the crews surprised and slain. The Jew was detained on board one of the vessels, and afterwards became a Catholic, being baptized by the name of Gaspar Gama. Having taken in water, the Portuguese ships

* [A]njediva lies off the coast of North [Kanar]a. It is believed to have been [known] to the Greeks by the name [...] and that it was here where the ancient Greek merchant ships used to meet before entering on the more fertile shores of Kanara and Malabar. The island is mentioned by Ibn Batuta.

CHAP. III. set sail from Anjediva for Melinde, where they arrived on the 8th January, 1499.

A.D. 1499. As soon as the vessels reached this port, the King came down to the beach, personally greeting the captains on their landing, and taking them away with him to his palace. They then related to the King all that had happened to them since they were last at Melinde, and requested that they might be permitted to take the two pilots with them to Lisbon, with the view of teaching them how to sail down that coast of Africa, and on their return they would be able to relate to His Majesty all they would see of the greatness and wealth of Portugal. This request pleased the King, and he accordingly gave it his ready acquiescence; also, before leaving, he gave to Paulo da Gama a letter to the King of Portugal, written on a leaf of gold, similar to the one which had been given by the King of Cananor, together with presents consisting of gold, silver, and ivory ornaments, besides jewellery for the Queen. After the exchange of many costly presents between the King and the captains, Vasco da Gama sailed from Melinde on the 20th of January, 1499, taking with him to Portugal on board his ship an Ambassador from the King of Melinde.

The vessels enjoyed a good run and fair weather, putting in nowhere until they arrived at the Azores, and anchored in the port of Angra, at the island of Terceira. The vessels were now leaking very considerably, and it needed constant work at the pumps to keep them afloat. Whilst here, Paulo da Gama, who had been ailing ever since passing the Cape, died, as did also many of the crew who were sick. Paulo da Gama was buried on the island, in the monastery of S. Francisco.

As soon as the ships arrived at Terceira, many b started for Lisbon to take the news of their return to King, hoping to obtain great favours as a rewar bringing the glad tidings. After the vessels had refitted, and fresh crews taken on board, they d

for Lisbon, accompanied by many others, and arrived at their destination on the 18th of September, 1499. CHAP. III

Arthur Rodriguez, a man of Terceira, was the first to arrive at Lisbon with the news of the return of Vasco da Gama's expedition. The King being then at Cintra, Rodriguez proceeded thither at once, where he arrived at one o'clock in the morning, and at once communicated the important news to His Majesty. The King's joy was unbounded, and he at once made Rodriguez a gentleman of the household, and his son a page of the chamber, and gave to the father besides a gratification of 100 cruzados. The next day the King went to Lisbon, when another messenger arrived with the further news of the death of Paulo da Gama, and the sickness of the crews. The King also rewarded him, and then awaited the arrival of the ships at the bar, where there were boats and pilots on the look-out, who brought them in all dressed out with flags, while the King was looking on from the House of Mines, which afterwards became the India House. A.D. 1499.

The King at once sent Jorge de Vasconcelos, a chief nobleman of his household, to visit Vasco da Gama, and to convey to him His Majesty's greetings, and many of his relatives and friends also went on board to welcome him on his return. On landing, Vasco da Gama was received by all the nobles of the Court, who conducted him to the King's presence, where he was most graciously received, and the King afterwards took him to his palace and presented him to the Queen. The next day, the King conferred upon him the title of "Dom." After having attended Mass, Dom Vasco presented Nicolau Coelho to the King, he having conveyed on shore the presents brought home for the King and Queen from the Kings of Cananor and Melinde.

After rewarding all who had taken part in this great enterprise, the ships were unloaded, and their freight of pepper and drugs carefully weighed and valued, when it was found that, after taking every expense of the voyage

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A.D. 1499.

into consideration, the value of the cargo brought home was as sixty to one compared with all the expenses of the voyage.* The King then presented Dom Vasco da Gama with 20,000 cruzados in gold, and conferred upon him and upon his heirs a perpetual right of 200 cruzados, which he might lay out each year, of his own money, in cinnamon, at Cananor, and send home in any vessel free of all charges on account of freight. Liberal rewards were also made to Nicolau Coelho, to the heirs of Paulo da Gama, and to the relatives of all others who had died on the voyage. The King further gave a large offering to the monastery of Belim, and to other holy houses and convents, and went with the Queen, in solemn procession, from the cathedral to São Domingo, where Calcadilha preached a sermon on the grandeur of India, and on the great and miraculous discovery of it, so that he greatly stimulated and inclined the hearts of men to go thither to win honour and profit, such as they saw in the case of those who had so recently come from thence.

The news of these glorious deeds made a complete revolution in the commerce of Europe, and raised the political importance of Portugal to a high degree; whilst to her Kings was added the glorious title of "Lords of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and China."

*At this time the quintal of pepper was worth at Lisbon 80 cruzados; that of cinnamon 180; that of cloves 200; that of ginger 120; that of mace 300; and the quintal of nutmeg 100. Taking the cruzado as worth 2s. 3d., and the quintal at 128 lbs., the value of pepper was about 1s 5d, of cinnamon about 3s. 2d., of cloves about 3s. 6d., of ginger about 2s. 1d., of mace about 5s. 3d., and of nutmeg about 1s. 9d. per lb.

CHAPTER IV.

Expedition under Pedro Alvarez Cabral—Discovery of Brazil—Arrival at Calicut, where a Factory was Established—The Factory Attacked and Death of Ayres Correa—Bombardment of Calicut—Cabral Proceeds to Cochin and Establishes a Factory there—Return of Cabral to Lisbon—Expedition under João da Nova—Defeat of the Zamorin's Fleet—Visit to Cochin and Cananor—Discovery of S. Helena—Expedition under Dom Vasco da Gama—Quiloa made Tributary—Submission of the King of Baticala—Arrival at Cananor—Bombardment of Calicut—Visit to Cochin—Message from the Queen of Quilon—Defeat of the Zamorin's Fleet—Factory at Cananor—Attack on Cochin by the Zamorin, and Defence by Duarte Pacheco—Expedition under Affonso de Albuquerque and others—Treaty with the Zamorin—Expedition under Lopo Soarez de Algabaria.

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THE expedition of Vasco da Gama having thus proved successful in reaching India by sea, the event was celebrated by public thanksgivings throughout the kingdom, followed by feasts and entertainments to the people. It was fully recognised that in order to accomplish what had been so satisfactorily commenced, it would be necessary to provide sufficient force to overawe the Arabs, who would be sure similarly to employ force to prevent the Portuguese from supplanting them in their profitable trade.

In the year following da Gama's return, and at his recommendation, Pedro Alvarez Cabral, a scion of a noble house of Portugal, was charged with the command of an expedition to Calicut, with the view of establishing commercial intercourse with the King of that country. The expedition was a magnificent one, consisting of thirteen ships formidably armed with artillery, but at the same time sumptuously provided with presents for the King, and

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manned by the boldest and most famous seamen of the period. Among these were Bartholomeu de Diaz, who fourteen years before had rounded the Stormy Cape; Nicolau Coelho, who had been one of da Gama's companions, and the interpreter Gaspar, whom da Gama had brought home with him from India, together with others who had been specially selected, with the view of establishing a factory on the coast of Malabar. The fleet carried 1,200 men, eight Franciscan friars, eight chaplains and a chaplain-major. The captains who set out with Cabral were Sancho de Toar, Simão de Miranda, Ayres Gomes da Silva, Nicolau Coelho, Vasco de Ataide, Bartholomeu de Diaz, Pedro de Diaz (his brother), Gaspar de Lemos, Luiz Pires, Simão de Pina, and Pero de Ataide. The expedition sailed from Belem on the 9th March, 1500, and Cabral having been presented with a royal banner, which had been blessed by the Bishop of Visen, and a cup which had received the Pope's benediction, proceeding with a fair wind, arrived in sight of Grand Canary at eight o'clock on the morning of the 14th. On Sunday, the 22nd, about ten o'clock, S. Nicholas, one of the Cape de Verde Islands, was sighted, where the fleet met with a storm, and one of the vessels, commanded by Vasco de Ataide, lost convoy and returned to Lisbon.*

In the *Lendas da India* it is stated that Cabral continued a westerly course towards the Azores, in order to obtain more favourable winds for doubling the Cape of Good Hope, as the science of taking the altitude of the sun was unknown in those days. The only instruments the navigators then possessed were compasses to ascertain the direction of the winds, "which generally blew towards some land or other." João de Barros, Damião de Goes, Jeronimo

* In *Noticias Ultramarinas* it is stated that after passing Cape Verde "one of the ships, commanded by Captain Luiz Pires, was lost sight of and never more heard of." This is also the account given in the *Lendas da India*, except that there it is said the lost ship was commanded by Pero de Figueiro The weight of evidence appears, however, to be in favour of the version given above.

Osorio, and other historians state that Cabral's fleet, after passing the Cape de Verde Islands, was driven by strong gales and currents in the Atlantic to an unknown land. Other writers assert that the discovery of Brazil was probably owing to the fact of Cabral being unaware of his whereabouts, after spending some days in a fruitless search for the missing ship. Others again maintain, on the authority of letters written to Dom Manoel by members of Cabral's crew, that he purposely strayed out of his way to discover the new land.

On the 21st April Cabral sighted the top of a mountain, on what he at first supposed to be an island, and as they were then in Holy Week he gave it the name of *Monte Pascoal*. At six o'clock the fleet was anchored in nineteen fathoms of water, six leagues from the shore. The next day Cabral stood in closer and anchored in ten fathoms, at the mouth of a river. Here an attempt was made to land, but the surf was too heavy, and the landing party accordingly returned to the ships. In the night a storm sprang up, and it was accordingly deemed advisable to weigh anchor and stand out to sea. The next day the fleet proceeded along the coast in search of a good harbour, which was eventually found in a bay, where the vessels cast anchor in eleven fathoms. Affonso Lopez, the pilot, who was sent ashore to explore, captured two of the natives in a small craft, whom he took with him on board his ship. The next morning the vessels stood in nearer to the shore and entered the harbour, which was found to be a very capacious one, and large enough to accommodate 200 ships.

Upon coming to an anchor, Cabral sent Nicolau Coelho and Bartholomeu de Diaz on shore with the two natives, to whom clothes and beads had been given. At the approach of the boat, a number of men with bows and arrows made their appearance on the beach, but, on a signal from the two natives, they retired, and the Portuguese were allowed to land in peace. The natives having left the

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vicinity of the beach, the Portuguese took in a large quantity of water, and then retired to their ships. The fleet remained here some time, and Cabral erected a cross on a great tree and named the country *Vera Cruz*, or, as it was afterwards called, *Santa Cruz*, which name it retained until the importation from it into Europe of the valuable dye-wood of the *ibirapitanga* caused it to be called *Brazil*, from the name which had long previously been given to similar dye-woods imported from India. The harbour into which the fleet entered Cabral named *Porto Seguro* but it has since been known as the *Guseada da Coroa Vermelha*, or *Red Crown Bay*. On the 1st May formal possession was taken of the country for Portugal, and Cabral forthwith sent Gaspar de Lemos back to Lisbon in one of his vessels to convey the important news to the King. Cabral put on shore two young *degradados*, or banished criminals, with orders to make themselves acquainted with the products and habits of the country and one of these subsequently became an able and respected agent of the colony which King Manoel lost no time in establishing.

The expedition left Porto Seguro on the 2nd May, and on the 24th it encountered a terrific storm, in which four vessels sank with all hands,—namely, those commanded by Ayres Gomes da Silva, Vasco de Ataide, Bartholomeu de Diaz, and Simão de Pina. The remainder of the fleet, consisting now of only seven vessels, were forced to run before the wind for six days, and soon one of these separated from the rest and ran into the Arabian Gulf or Red Sea, and thence returned home with only six men, the rest having perished by famine and disease. The fleet, now reduced to six ships, arrived off the coast of Sofala on the 16th July, where chase was given to two vessels, one of which was stranded and the other captured; but as the latter was commanded by Sheikh Fateyma, uncle to the King of Melinde, Cabral treated him well, and let him go free with his ship. On the

20th July Mozambique was reached, and here the fleet refitted before proceeding on its voyage. The services of a pilot having been obtained, the fleet proceeded to Quiloa, where it arrived on the 26th July, and thence to Melinde, which was reached on the 2nd August. A very short stay was made at Melinde, where, after giving some presents to the King, including a letter from the King of Portugal, and taking on board two Guzerat pilots, the expedition left for Calicut on the 7th August.

The first land sighted in India was Gogo, a port in the kingdom of Cambay, and, proceeding thence along the coast, Cabral came to the island of Anjediva. Having refreshed the crews and overhauled the ships, the expedition proceeded onwards, and arrived in sight of Calicut on the 30th of August, about six months after its departure from Lisbon.

When about a league from the shore, the King of Calicut sent representatives in gaily-decked boats to welcome the Portuguese. Cabral accordingly sent a deputation to the Zamorin of one European and four natives, the latter being some of those carried away by da Gama, but as they were low-caste men, the Zamorin could not receive them. Cabral then demanded that hostages should be sent on board to obviate any treachery, in case he wished to land, and named the Cutwal—he who had ill-treated da Gama—and a Chief Nair, as the most suitable persons; these, however, declined the honour, but on other hostages being furnished, Cabral landed the next day with thirty officers and men, and had an audience with the King on the beach, to whom he delivered some costly presents, with which His Majesty was greatly pleased. A treaty of peace and friendship was at once concluded, and a factory established, which was placed in charge of Ayres Correa, with seventy Europeans, two nephews of a Guzerat merchant being sent on board the captain's ship as hostages for his safety.

Whilst lying off Calicut Cabral sent, at the King's

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request, a caravel with seventy men and some artillery to take a large Moorish ship which was then passing by. This vessel was easily captured, and presented to the King. As soon as the factory was fairly established, the hostages appear to have been allowed to return to the shore; the Moors, however, so far prevented the Portuguese from obtaining spices that, at the end of two months, only two vessels had been loaded. Cabral accordingly complained to the Zamorin, but the latter hesitated, and appeared embarrassed how to act. Cabral, therefore, with a view to hasten his decision, on the 17th December attacked and seized a Moorish vessel that was loading in the harbour, whereupon the Moors on shore became greatly excited, and attacked the factor's house. After three hours' resistance the building was destroyed, and Ayres Correa, with fifty-three of his men, was killed. Upon the news of this outrage reaching Cabral he sent to demand satisfaction, but, not receiving any, he seized and destroyed ten large Moorish ships, and, after bombarding the town for two days, set sail for a place called Fundarane, where several people were slain, and from thence to Cochin, which port was reached on the 24th December. On the way thither two more ships belonging to Calicut were met with and burnt. Thus was commenced a war of rivalry between the Portuguese and Arabs for the possession of the Eastern trade in which, at a later date, the natives of different parts of India became involved according as they encouraged the Portuguese or Arab traders. In this contest the Venetians gave their support to the Arabs, since the success of the Portuguese could not fail to injure their trade between Cairo and Europe.

On arriving at Cochin, a Syrian Christian, Michael Jogue by name, who was a passenger in one of the vessels for the purpose of visiting Rome, and afterwards proceeding to the Holy Land, was dispatched on shore, accompanied by an European, to visit the Raja Trimum-

para, who received them in a very friendly manner, and sent a message to Cabral that he might either purchase spices for money or give merchandise in exchange for them, as was most convenient to him. Cabral was in every respect much pleased with the Raja of Cochin, who, although much less wealthy than the Zamorin, and consequently not living in so much state, was greatly superior to him in every other respect, being honest in his dealings and intelligent and truthful in his conversation.

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Cochin was at this time described as a long, low, sandy island covered with cocoa-nut trees, and divided by a deep river, a quarter of a mile broad, from the neighbouring island of Vypin. Passing up this river for half-a-mile, a wide expanse of backwater appeared, which extended for about 100 miles north and south. The town of Cochin was small and situated close to the river, and in it was the Raja's palace (where Matancherri now stands), by no means an imposing edifice, and badly furnished. A few Moors resided there, and possessed better houses than those of the native population, which were merely composed of mats, with mud walls and roofs thatched with leaves. At this period no buildings were allowed to be constructed of stone or brick, and tiled, excepting temples and palaces; but Moorish merchants were permitted to surround their buildings with stone walls for the security of their merchandise.

The Raja suggested that to avoid any misunderstanding, and to create mutual confidence, it would be best for him to send Nair hostages on board the fleet. This was accordingly done, the Nairs being exchanged for others every morning and evening, as they could not eat on board without violating some religious rules. An alliance of friendship was signed, and the Portuguese promised Trimumpara to instal him, at some future date, as Zamorin, and to add Calicut to his dominions. A factory was then given to the Portuguese, in which Gonçalo Gil Barbosa was placed as factor, with six

CHAP. IV. A.D. 1501.

others, to sell their merchandise and to provide lading for the next ships that should arrive there.* The Raja allowed them a guard, and permitted them to sleep within the walls of his palace. One night the factory caught fire, which was, of course, attributed to the vindictiveness of the Moors, but no injury appears to have resulted.

Whilst Cabral was at Cochin he received deputations from both the Rajas of Cananor and Quilon,† inviting him to visit them, and promising to supply him with pepper and spices at a cheaper rate than he could obtain them at Cochin; but their offers were politely declined. Two natives also paid Cabral a visit, and requested a passage to Europe, stating that they were members of a large Christian community residing at Cranganor, about twenty miles north of Cochin, in which some Jews of little note were also located.

As Cabral was preparing to leave Cochin, on 10th January 1501, a fleet belonging to the Zamorin, carrying 1,500 men, was descried off the harbour. The Raja immediately sent messengers to inform the Portuguese of the appearance of the enemy, and to offer them any assistance they might require. But the Calicut

* In thus leaving a factor behind at Cochin, Cabral followed the practice first established by the Phœnicians, who planted factories, or agencies, in all lands whither they traded, where they were able not only to dispose of their goods to the best advantage, but also to collect the produce of other lands so as to be ready for shipment on the arrival of their fleet.

† The ancient history of Quilon goes back to the records of the primitive Syrian Church in India. It was for long one of the greatest ports of Malabar, and the residence of the King of that region. It is mentioned as Coilon in a letter of the Nestorian patriarch Jesujabus of Adiabene, who died A.D. 660. It appears in Arabic as early as 851 A.D., under the name of Kaulam-Mall, when it was already frequented by ships from China; and during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it continued to be the great port of trade in Malabar with China and Arabia. It is the Coilum of Marco Polo, and the Columbum of several ecclesiastical writers of that age, one of whom, Friar Jordanus, was consecrated Bishop of Columbum, about 1330. It was an emporium for pepper, brazil-wood, and ginger, the last kind of which was known till late in the middle ages as columbine ginger. Kaulam was an important place down to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Varthema speaks of it as a fine port, and Barbosa as "a very great city. with many great merchants, Moors and Gentoos, whose ships trade to all the Eastern ports, as far as Bengal, Peru, and the Archipelago."

people held off, and had evidently no wish to come to an engagement. On the following day, finding that they did not attack, Cabral chased them, but was overtaken by a violent storm, which carried him out to sea. He did not subsequently return to Cochin, but put into Cananor, where he arrived on the 15th January, and received on board an ambassador from the Raja of that country to the King of Portugal, together with presents, and the offer of a free trade to that port. On the following day he started on his voyage home, carrying with him, but as he asserted accidentally, the Nair hostages, and leaving his factor and people at Cochin without any attempt either to provide for their safety or to reconvey them to their native land. But they were taken every care of by the Cochin Raja, and subsequently honourably returned to their friends.

Near Melinde, one of the most richly freighted of the ships, of 200 tons, and laden with spices, commanded by Sancho de Toar, foundered on a reef. The crew escaped with their lives, and they burnt the ship; but the King of Mombassa succeeded in recovering the guns, which he afterwards turned to account against the Portuguese. At Mozambique the rest of the ships were refitted, and one of them was sent to settle a trade at the mine of Sofala. At Cape de Verde they fell in with Pero de Diaz, whose vessel had parted with them in a storm on the way out; he had escaped many dangers by sea and land, chiefly in Port Magadoxo near Cape Guardafui. These three vessels returned together to Lisbon, where they arrived on the 21st July, 1501. Shortly afterwards Pero de Ataide, who had parted from the other ships, also arrived, as well as the vessel which had been sent to Sofala.

Historians are silent on the subject of the reception accorded to Cabral on his return, but Vespucci gives the following account of the wealth which he brought back. He says there was an immense quantity of cinnamon, green and dry ginger, pepper, cloves, nutmegs, mace,

CHAP. IV. A.D. 1501 musk, civet, storax, benzoin, porcelain, cassia, mastic, incense, myrrh, red and white sandal-wood, aloes, camphor, amber, caune (Indian shot, *Cauna Indica*), lac, mummy, anib, and tuzzia (Huija), opium, Indian aloes, and many other drugs too numerous to detail. Of jewels he knew that he saw many diamonds, rubies, and pearls, and one ruby of a most beautiful colour weighed seven carats and a-half; but he did not see all. Cabral died before the 8th of July, 1534, and was buried in the chapel of St. John the Baptist, in the church of the Graça, at Santarem.

Before Cabral's return, King Manoel, having received no news of the former armada, sent out a noble Galician, named João da Nova, with four vessels. The captains who went with him were, according to one account, Fernão Pacheco, Francisco de Novais, and Misser Vineto, a Florentine; according to another their names were Diogo Barboza, Francisco de Navaes, and Fernão Vinet, a Florentine. A decree was also issued, bearing date the 29th January, 1500 (old style), empowering any merchant who might desire it to send trading ships from Portugal to India, on condition that a quarter of the value of any cargoes brought back should be paid into the Treasury, but which should be otherwise exempt from all other dues and taxes. This decree was to continue in force until the end of January, 1502. It does not, however, appear to have been taken any advantage of. João da Nova set sail from Belem on the 10th of April, 1501, and directed his course first towards the newly-discovered land of Santa Cruz. In his voyage out he discovered the island of Ascension, but which he called the island of Conception, and also another island which he named after himself. The former appears first to have received its name of Ascension from Affonso de Albuquerque, who saw it again in May, 1503, and named it in his journal, probably by mistake, under the latter name, which it has ever since retained. From thence da Nova proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope, and,

on the 7th of July, anchored at the watering-place of Agoada de S. Braz (San Bras), beyond that promontory, where he found a letter left by Pero de Ataide in a shoe, after being separated from Cabral in a storm, in which he urged all captains bound for India to go by way of Mombassa, where they would find other letters in charge of one Antonio Fernandes. By this means da Nova became informed of the fact that at Cochin and Cananor he would find two friendly and safe ports where he could take in a cargo. At Quiloa he fell in with Antonio Fernandes, who delivered him Cabral's letter. Proceeding to India he anchored first at Anjediva, and thence went on to Cananor, where he was well received, and arranged to take in goods on his return from Cochin. On the way to Cochin he encountered the fleet of the King of Calicut, and sunk five large vessels and nine paraos. At Cochin he was received with great warmth on account of the victory he had gained over the Raja of Calicut. The factor, however, informed him that the Raja was naturally extremely indignant with Cabral for having carried away his hostages and for departing without bidding him adieu; he had nevertheless treated him and the other Portuguese who were left in his territory in a friendly manner. Being apprehensive lest their enemies the Moors might attempt to massacre them, the Raja had even lodged these men in his own palace, and had provided them with a guard of Nairs to protect them when they went into the town. He also stated that the Moors had persuaded the native merchants to refuse to exchange their pepper for Portuguese merchandise, and that therefore ready-money would be required for all purchases. Da Nova being unprovided for this, returned at once to Cananor, but he found that, owing to the machinations of the Moors, cash was as necessary there as at Cochin. He now quite despaired of providing lading for his vessels, but the Raja of Cochin, when informed of his dilemma, at once became his security for 1,000 hundredweight of pepper,

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450 of cinnamon, fifty of ginger, and some bales of cloth.

A.D. 1501-2.

On entering the port of Cananor da Nova took a ship of Calicut, which he plundered and burnt. On this vessel were found many very valuable jewels, and amongst them some 1,500 costly pearls, which were taken home and presented to Dom Manoel. There were also found on board the vessel three silver astrological navigating instruments, which were quite unknown to the Portuguese astronomers and navigators. The pilot of this vessel was retained in order that he might be instructed in the Portuguese language with a view to his explaining the use of these instruments. The King of Calicut, on hearing of the loss of this ship, and of these valuable instruments—which, it was said, he had caused to be imported from an island called Saponin—equipped a large fleet of 180 vessels to attack the Portuguese. The Raja at once offered da Nova any assistance in his power; this was, however, civilly declined, and all the ordnance at the command of the Portuguese vessels was speedily brought to bear upon the enemy. By this means a number of vessels were sunk, and the remaining Moors were too much discouraged to continue the action. Owing to the generosity of the Raja, the Portuguese ships were soon loaded, and da Nova departed, leaving his European merchandise for disposal in Cananor under the charge of a factor and two clerks. Before sailing he received an embassy from the Zamorin, offering excuses for his previous conduct, and promising to give hostages if he would proceed to Calicut and there load his vessels. To this message da Nova vouchsafed no reply.

After this da Nova set sail for Portugal, and on his homeward voyage he had the good fortune to discover the island which he named St. Helena. This occurred on the 21st May, 1502, and as that day was consecrated to Helena, wife of Constantius Chlorus, and mother of Constantine the Great, he named it after her. This event

is stated by some writers to have been accompanied by the loss of one of the fleet. The mariners, it is said, "drew on shore the weather beaten sides, and all the armory and tackling, building with the timber a chappell in this valley, from thence called Chappell Valley," but the name was subsequently changed to James' Valley. The island was found to be entirely uninhabited by human beings, and the only animals seen there were sea-fowl, seals, sea-lions, and turtle. Its surface was densely covered with trees. The Portuguese viewing the benefit which, in future voyages, might be derived from improving the natural advantages of this place, which lay in the direct track of ships sailing between Europe and India, "stocked it with goats, asses, hogs, and other cattel." This island became afterwards a place of call for the Eastern galleons, on account of the excellent water that was to be obtained there. Da Nova reached Portugal on the 11th September, 1502, and was received by the King with distinguished honour.

The account which Cabral had brought home of the difficulties to be encountered before the Indian trade could be secured, showed that it would be necessary to employ a considerable force for that purpose, and the King accordingly promised to send him again with a much larger fleet, and well equipped, in order to make war upon Calicut in retaliation for the treatment he had there received. For this purpose the King ordered ten large ships to be prepared, into which he placed a large quantity of artillery, munitions, and weapons, together with supplies of everything requisite for the voyage. A not unimportant stimulus to this proceeding was a hope which the King entertained that he might be able to plant the Christian religion in those countries, and that he might enlarge his royal titles by adding to them, as he subsequently did, those of Lord of the Navigation, Conquests, and Trade of Æthiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India, which titles were afterwards confirmed by the Pope.

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The King had intended to have given the command of this expedition to Cabral, but many were of opinion that he was not the right man for the service, in consequence of his misfortune at sea, and the many vessels of his former fleet that had been lost; and when Dom Vasco da Gama requested that the command might be entrusted to him, in accordance with a patent granted by the King after his first voyage, under which he was to go as captain-major in any fleet that should sail for India, the King readily granted his request, promising to give Cabral the command of another fleet later on.

As soon as the command of the expedition had been made over to Dom Vasco he got ready, besides the above-mentioned ten vessels, five lateen-rigged caravels which he caused to be well equipped, because he hoped to make war with them, and he had the necessary artillery put into them, stowed below in the hold. In addition to these, it was settled that five small vessels should also be prepared, of which the King gave the chief command to Estevão da Gama, a relation of Dom Vasco. The expedition thus consisted of twenty vessels, and Dom Vasco appointed the following as captains,—viz., in the flagship "São Jeronymo," Vicente Sodré, a relation of his; in the "Lionarda," Dom Luis Coutinho; in the "Leitoa," Fernão de Atouguia; in the "Batecabello," Gil Fernandes de Sousa; in the "São Paulo," Alvaro de Ataide; in the "São Miguel," Gil Mattoso. These six ships were the largest, and the others which were smaller were to remain in India should no cargoes be obtainable for them, viz., the "Bretoa," Francisco Marecos; "São Rafael," Diogo Fernandes Correa, who was to be factor at Cochin; the "Vera Cruz," Ruy da Cunha; the "Santa Elena," Pero Affonso de Aguiar. The captains of the caravels were as follows: in the "Santa Martha," João Rodrigues Badarças; in the "Fradeza," João Lopes Perestrello; in the "Salta na palha," Antão Vaz; in the "Estrella," Antonio Fernandes; and in the "Garrida," Pero Rafael. In these fifteen sail

were 800 men-at-arms, and many gentlemen of birth, besides the captains. They also took back with them the ambassadors of Cochin and Cananor. CHAP IV.

Dom Vasco was determined to leave in India a fleet and a supply of men to lord it over the Indian seas, and it was fully expected that the expenditure these would incur at sea would be covered by the prizes they would make. A.D. 1502.

Besides their stipulated rate of pay, each member of the fleet was to be permitted to bring home for himself a limited amount of spices, for the freight of which he was to pay at the rate of one-twentieth of its value, which sum the King dedicated towards the cost of construction of the house of Our Lady of Belem. This twentieth was always given to Belem on the return of the fleet, from 1503 till the year 1522, when Dom João, who had succeeded his father, Dom Manoel, on the throne, abolished it, as the monastery was then nearly completed. In place thereof he ordered that a limited sum should be paid to it each year by the India House on the arrival of the fleets from India.

The fleet, with the exception of five small vessels, under the command of Estevão da Gama, which sailed later, assembled off Belem, where the King went to see it off. According to Gaspar Correa it sailed on the 25th of March, 1502, but, according to Barros and Osorio, it left Belem on the 10th of February, while Manoel de Faria y Sousa omits to give any date. When off Guinea Fernão de Atouguia, captain of the "Leitoa," died, and da Gama appointed Pero Affonso de Aguiar to succeed him, and nominated Pero de Mendoça, an honourable gentleman who accompanied him, captain of the "Santa Elena." Leaving Guinea, Dom Vasco made the coast of Brazil, and ran along as far as Cape Santo Agostinho, whence he crossed over to the Cape of Good Hope, and shortly after doubling the Cape met with a storm which lasted six days, and separated the only two ships and three caravels remaining with the admiral; but he was afterwards joined

CHAP. IV. A.D. 1502. by another ship and two small vessels. At Cape Corrientes another storm was encountered, which again separated the vessels, and drove the "Santa Elena" on the banks off Sofala, where she was lost, but the crew and goods were saved. Da Gama then went to Mozambique, where the other vessels of the fleet joined him, they having received instructions to assemble there in the event of the ships becoming separated. Here he was well received, and the Sheikh not only sent him presents of fresh food, but asked pardon for the reception da Gama had received there on the occasion of his former visit. The admiral received him with much honour, and sent him away again with a present. Here a caravel was constructed from materials which had been brought out. It was completed and launched in twelve days, and named the "Pomposa," João Serrão being appointed its captain. In the meanwhile Pero Affonso de Aguiar went to Sofala with two caravels, where he traded and entered into a treaty with its King. He then returned to Mozambique, but as Vasco da Gama had already left that port he proceeded to Melinde, where he expected to join him.

Before leaving Mozambique da Gama installed Gonzalo Baixo there as factor, with ten men for his service, and goods for buying stuffs for Sofala, where he was to go and barter them, or send them thither by João Serrão in the new caravel, which he left there for that purpose, with thirty men, two heavy pieces and some small artillery. He furnished him also with detailed instructions as to what he was to do if Pero Affonso succeeded in establishing a trade at Sofala; otherwise they were all to follow him to India. On his way Dom Vasco called in at Quiloa, and by means of threats made the King of that place tributary to the King of Portugal. After remaining there for six days, having received a present for the King of Portugal, Vasco da Gama left with his fleet; but at the last moment a curious difficulty arose. Many of the women of this city were very beautiful, and by reason

of the jealousy of the Moors they were kept shut up and were generally ill-treated. For this reason many fled from their homes whilst the Portuguese ships were there, and went on board, where they were taken in secretly and kept in strict concealment. On being spoken to on the subject they refused to return, and desired to become Christians, with the view of escaping from their former treatment. Upon this coming to the ears of Vasco da Gama he ordered all the married women to be put on shore, and threatened that if they were not well treated he would, on his return, avenge them. Certain of the Moors refused to take back their wives, so these were returned to the ships, and, with the unmarried ones amongst them, accompanied the expedition to India.

Vasco da Gama proceeded next to Melinde, where he was most cordially received by the King of that place, and stayed there for three days, during which His Majesty made several visits to the fleet, and sent great quantities of fresh meat and vegetables for the crews He also gave rich presents for the King and Queen of Portugal, whilst Vasco da Gama likewise gave him suitable gifts, and after the mutual exchange of many courtesies the expedition set sail again on 18th August, 1502. The following day they fell in with the five ships under Estevão da Gama, which had sailed two months later than the rest. The captains of the other vessels of this fleet were Vasco Fernandes Tinoco, Ruy Lourenço Ravasco, Diogo Fernandes Peteira, and João Fernandes de Mello. The combined fleet made together the land of Dabul, where the caravels rigged their lateen sails, mounted their artillery, and then ran along the coast. After passing Anjediva they came upon some pirates' vessels belonging to Timoja, which they chased into the River Onor, and burnt. The next day they reached Baticala, which was a great port for trade, from whence rice, iron, and sugar were transported to all parts of India. Here attempts were made to prevent the Portuguese from landing, but upon their taking the offensive the King sent

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some Moors to offer his submission, which Vasco da Gama accepted on condition that the Turks were prohibited from trading there; that no trade in pepper should be carried on at that port, and that vessels should not be permitted to go thence to Calicut. The King accepting these conditions, offered a tribute of 1,000 loads of rice every year for the Portuguese crews, and 500 loads of better rice for the captains, excusing himself from more, as he was only a tenant of the King of Bisnaga, to whom the country belonged. These terms having been assented to, they were committed to writing and the agreement ratified.

After concluding this business Vasco da Gama set sail for Cananor. On the way thither a large ship of Calicut was espied, which had come from Mecca with a very valuable cargo belonging to the chief merchant at Calicut, who was brother to Coja Casem, the factor of the sea to the King of Calicut. This vessel Dom Vasco took, and after removing all the cargo into Portuguese ships, gave orders that the vessel should be burnt with all the Moors in it. The latter, finding arguments and offer of bribes to be useless, determined to sell their lives as dearly as they could, and accordingly attacked the Portuguese, who were in the ship, removing cargo. With obstinate resistance the Moors fought to the death, but ultimately the owner and crew were killed, and their vessel was sunk.

On arriving at Cananor the factor and several men of that place went and related to Vasco da Gama the great benefits which the King had conferred upon them, and how that the King of Calicut was then engaged in hostilities against him.

Vasco da Gama took an early opportunity of arranging an interview with the King, when the latter received him with great courtesy. Da Gama delivered to His Majesty a letter from the King of Portugal, together with the presents which he had brought out, consisting of six pieces of satin and coloured velvets, a piece of brocade, an arm-chair with cushions of brocade, and a sword of

gold and enamel. This latter was greatly admired by the King, who, in return, delivered to da Gama a necklace and two bracelets, together with ten rings, all of considerable value, as presents for the Queen of Portugal, besides some rich jewels for himself. After this interview da Gama returned in state to his ship.

One of the instructions given to da Gama before his departure from Lisbon, was that in all ports where he succeeded in establishing trade he should arrange to have the prices of various articles fixed, so as to avoid fluctuations in the markets. By means of the factor and interpreter he obtained here the necessary information as to weights and prices of each article, both for selling and buying, after which he obtained another interview with the King, before whom he laid this matter. His Majesty having expressed himself in favour of this proposal, summoned before him some principal merchants of the country, and also some foreign merchants, with whom the subject was discussed, and a scale of weights and prices was agreed upon and a memorandum to that effect was duly signed, after which da Gama took his leave and retired.

On returning to his ship, da Gama arranged to divide his fleet, and that it should cruise along the coast, making
on all navigators excepting those of Cananor, Cochin,
Quilon, to whom, it was arranged, certificates should
ranted by the factor at Cananor to ensure them safe
age. Vicente Sodré was appointed captain-major of
division of the fleet that was to be left behind; Gonçalo Gil Barbosa, who was at Cochin, was appointed factor at Cananor, with Fernão to assist him as Almoxarife, whilst Diogo Fernandes Correa took his place as factor at Cochin. Gomez Ferreira, who had been factor at Cananor, was appointed to the command of a caravel, and Ruy de Mendanha captain of another. Quantities of goods were then sent on shore, which were to be exchanged principally for ginger; a native staff was appointed to assist in the clerical work of the factory, and

CHAP. IV. A.D. 1502. a guard of Nairs, who were each to receive a fixed rate of pay. Also, in order to ensure a good supply of ginger, ten ells of crimson velvet were to be given to the *gazil* for each cargo. Besides ginger, the factor was to procure for the return voyage to Portugal quantities of rice, sugar, honey, butter, oil, cocoa-nuts and dried fish. He was also to make cables of coir and cordage, for which purpose several workmen were put on shore from the fleet.

After taking leave of the King, Vasco da Gama departed, and on reaching Calicut he was much annoyed to find no Moorish ships in the port, as they had all fled on hearing that he was in the neighbourhood.

The King of Calicut, fearing the vengeance of Vasco da Gama, in order to gain time sent a Brahman out to him in a boat, with a white flag as a token of peace. The Brahman was dressed in the habit of a friar, which he assumed in order that he might have a better chance of being listened to. The disguise was, however, at once detected, but da Gama gave him a safe-conduct to go on board his ship, which he accordingly did, and delivered the King's message, which was to the effect that he had arrested twelve Moors, who were principally instrumental in causing him to assume a hostile attitude towards the Portuguese on their first visit to his city; these he was sending to da Gama, together with 20,000 cruzados, which he took from them in payment for the goods which were plundered in the factory. Vasco da Gama fully appreciating the motive which induced the King to send this message, sent back a reply expressing satisfaction that His Majesty recognised the fault that he had committed; stating that he would take what he sent him, but regretting it included so few Moors out of the many who had done the evil; and adding that he would retain the friar until His Majesty's answer should be received. The next day the King sent to say that the Moors had offered 20,000 pardaos more for themselves, if da Gama would accept that sum for their ransom. Instead of

sending any further reply, da Gama drew up the fleet as close in to shore as he safely could, and bombarded the city for an entire day, killing many people and causing great destruction to the city. He then stood out to sea, leaving, however, six vessels well armed, and manned by 200 men to remain before Calicut.

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Before leaving, a fleet of two large ships and twenty-two smaller vessels appeared in sight. These were from Coromandel, laden with rice, and, being unable to escape from the Portuguese caravels, they were all captured. After having taken from them all that his ships required and could conveniently dispose of, Dom Vasco ordered his men to cut off the hands and ears and noses of all the crews, and the Brahman who had gone to him disguised as a friar was also similarly treated. This done, their feet were tied together, and in order to prevent them from untieing the cords with their teeth, he ordered his men to strike them on their mouths with staves and knock their teeth down their throats. They were then put on board, to the number of about 800, heaped one on the top of the other, and covered with mats and dry leaves; the sails were then set for the shore and the vessel set on fire. The friar, with all the hands and ears that had been cut off, was sent on shore by himself in a small vessel, which was not fired, with a palm-leaf letter to the King, telling him to have a curry made to eat of what his friar brought him. This act of cruel barbarity caused the greatest indignation amongst the people, more especially amongst the Moors, who combined together to construct a fleet of overwhelming power, with the view of driving the Portuguese from the Indian seas.

When da Gama was about to proceed to Cochin, an Indian boat reached him with a letter from the King of Cananor, complaining that some Moors had laden eight ships in his port, and departed without paying either his duties or for the goods they had taken away, and requesting his assistance in the matter. He accordingly

CHAP IV. A.D. 1502. directed Vicente Sodré to go thither and see what services he could render. On arrival there he found the Moorish vessels off the city, waiting to sail with the land breeze that would set in at night. Vicente Sodré wished to sink these ships, but refrained from doing so at the request of the King; but he sent and told the principal Moor that unless he at once satisfied the King's claims he would burn all his ships, even if he had to follow them all the way to Mecca for that purpose. Being frightened at this threat, Coja Mehmed Maredr, the principal Moor, a native of Cairo, went ashore, and faithfully settled all claims, taking palm-leaf receipts for the same to show to Vicente Sodré; but as the King had reported some insulting words which the Moor had spoken on leaving the shore, Vicente Sodré made the latter accompany him back in a boat, and when close to the town had him tied to the mast and flogged with a rope's-end until he fainted. Having filled his mouth with dirt, and tied over it a piece of bacon, he sent him back to his ship with his hands tied behind him. The Moors had offered to pay 10,000 pardaos of gold if he would not put dirt in Coja's mouth, but Vicente Sodré had refused, saying, "Money pays for merchandise, and blows for words." Vicente also further threatened that if Coja again spoke ill of the King of Cananor he would seek him to the end of the world, and flay him alive. This satisfaction of his honour greatly pleased the King, who presented Sodré with a thousand pardaos of gold, and also ordered that as long as he remained in his port, or on shore, he should have a gold pardao each day for fowls for his table. This daily table allowance was, for long afterwards, paid to all Portuguese captains when at that port.

Whilst these events were taking place at Cananor, Vasco da Gama proceeded from Calicut to Cochin, where the factor gave a very satisfactory account of the proofs which the King had constantly afforded of his friendliness towards the Portuguese. The King himself also sent a

message of welcome, and the following day Vasco da Gama went ashore and paid his respects in person to His Majesty, when he handed to him a letter from the King of Portugal, and presents consisting of a goblet with a pedestal, and covered by a lid, which contained 2.000 cruzados, also a piece of brocade, and twenty-four pieces of velvets, satins, and coloured damasks, and a chair covered with brocade, and studded with silver nails, with its cushions to match. He also handed the King letters from his young Nair who had remained in Portugal, giving an account of all he had seen in that country. The King advised Sodré to use every expedition in getting his cargo on board, and to keep a sharp look-out at night, as the Zamorin was preparing a great fleet to come and fight with him.

The Portuguese ships having been taken into the river of Cochin, Vasco da Gama had them heeled over and caulked in great haste, and as each one was finished its cargo was taken on board. Thus they loaded five large ships and six small vessels with spices and drugs, the produce of the country. The freight which they had brought out, and which had been safely deposited in the factory, consisted of cut and branch coral, copper in pigs and sheets, quicksilver, vermilion, rugs, Flanders brass basins, coloured cloths, knives, red barret-caps, mirrors, and coloured silks. Here, as at Cananor, Vasco da Gama also established fixed rates of weights, measures, and prices, with the sanction and concurrence of the King. These standards were to prevail within the Portuguese factory, but outside of that building anyone might make his own terms for buying or selling goods. Vasco da Gama then presented the King with a crown of gold, and a silver-gilt basin and ewer, whilst to the Prince he gave an enamelled collar, ornamented with jewels in the form of a chain, and a round tent with double linings of coloured satin.

Whilst the Portuguese ships were taking in their cargoes, a report of the liberality with which Vasco da

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Gama had treated the King of Cochin, and the profits realized by the latter from trade with the Portuguese, having reached Quilon, the Queen of that place, from whence the pepper sold in Cochin was principally obtained, desiring to secure for her own people the profits which the Cochin merchants now enjoyed, sent a message to da Gama requesting him to send two of his largest ships to that port, which she promised to load for him with pepper on the same terms and conditions as he had already established at Cochin. She also undertook to provide him with a similar quantity each year at the same price as might from time to time prevail at that place. Da Gama received the Queen's messenger with much honour, and, after consulting with his captains on the matter, fearing to run any risk in regard to the recently-established friendship with the King of Cochin, he sent a courteous reply, excusing himself from at once accepting the invitation on the grounds that, owing to recent engagements with the King of Cochin, he could not enter upon this matter without His Majesty's concurrence. He therefore requested her to send her message direct to the King of Cochin, and should he raise no objections, he, Vasco da Gama, would be glad to entertain her proposals.

On receipt of this reply the Queen immediately sent a message, as suggested, to the King of Cochin, with whom she was on friendly terms. His Majesty, however, did not receive the communication with any degree of pleasure, as he foresaw that, should the Portuguese ships go to load pepper at Quilon, his revenues and the trade of his port would be great losers thereby. However, after having consulted with the Portuguese factor on the subject, who had already been cautioned to act warily in his replies, the King, feeling that he could not well refuse the request of the Queen, yet hoping from the replies he had received from the factor that so long as the Portuguese could obtain all the pepper they required from Cochin, they

would not trouble to send ships to Quilon, he gave an apparently ready acquiescence in the proposal. In communicating his assent through his minister to Vasco da Gama, the latter, whilst avoiding all appearance of eagerness in the matter, undertook not to establish a factory at Quilon, but only to send two ships there each year for pepper whenever there should be a scarcity of that article in Cochin, with cargo to exchange for whatever freight they might obtain there. This was, however, not what the King of Cochin had expected or hoped for, but having given his word he was unable to draw back, and dismissed the Queen's messengers with the best grace he could assume under the circumstances.

The Queen, on receipt of a favourable reply from the King, at once dispatched a message to Vasco da Gama requesting him to at once send two ships, as she had already plenty of pepper on hand to load them. This he immediately did, but not without first obtaining sanction from the King of Cochin, which, though unwillingly, he was not now in a position to withhold. The captains of these two ships were Diogo Fernandes Pereira and Francisco Marecos, whilst João de Sa Pereira went with them as factor. On arrival at Quilon the latter went on shore and handed to the Queen a letter from da Gama, accompanied by a present of a handsome mirror, some coral, and a large bottle of orange-flower water, whilst to her ministers he presented thirty scarlet barret-caps and thirty dozen of knives with sheaths. The Queen in return sent as a present to da Gama several silk stuffs of various colours, together with some very fine white stuffs of great width, all being of native manufacture. The greatest haste was made in loading the vessels with spices, and in ten days they had taken on board as much as they could carry, and returned at once to Cochin.

Before the fleet at Cochin had quite finished taking in their cargoes, the King sent for Vasco da Gama, and informed him that he had intelligence from Calicut to the

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effect that the fleet which was being prepared there against the Portuguese was now ready to sail under the command of Coja Casem and Cojambar, the latter of whom was a Moorish eunuch who had recently arrived from Mecca, and had come from the Maldive Islands in a small boat to offer himself to the King of Calicut to take the Portuguese fleet, having left at the Maldives two large ships which he had brought, laden with great wealth, and which he did not care to risk. The King strongly advised da Gama to set sail before the Calicut fleet should arrive to stop him; but he disdained to fly from the enemy, and assured His Majesty that the caravels he had with him were quite able to give a good account of any fleet that might come against him from Calicut; besides which he had arranged to go to Cananor to take in ginger, and he would be wanting in courtesy to the King of that place if he failed to do so. He further urged that the reputation of the Portuguese for bravery would be lost for ever if he thus ran away for fear of the Calicut fleet.

Vasco da Gama having been thus warned of the danger that threatened him, sent a swift caravel to Cananor to summon Vicente Sodré to join him with his fleet, and the King of Cochin at the same time sent some Indian boats along the coast to keep a look-out for the enemy's vessels.

It appears that the King of Calicut had spared no expense in preparing his fleet for the destruction of the Portuguese trade, and intended, as soon as he had routed their fleet, to make war on Cochin, and drive the Portuguese from thence. In order to spy out the condition of the Portuguese fleet, he sent a Brahman with a letter to Vasco da Gama declaring that, although he had prepared a fleet for his destruction, he would order them all to be dismantled if he would agree to terms of peace. Coje Bequi, a Moor of Calicut, who was friendly to the Portuguese, being aware of the intentions of the Zamorin, contrived to send and warn da Gama that the Brahman, whom he was sending under pretext of offering friendship, was in reality but a

spy. Thus, as soon as he arrived, da Gama knew his real errand, and having secured and bound his boatmen, he ordered the Brahman to be tied to the mast of the ship, and to be tortured by holding hot embers to his shins, until, in his agony, he confessed the truth. Da Gama then ordered his lips to be cut off, and ears cut from a dog to be firmly sewn to his head in the place of his own, and in this condition sent him back to the Zamorin.

In the meantime da Gama's fleet had completed its lading, and the factory on shore having been provided with every requisite, and placed under the care of Diogo Fernandes Correa as factor, da Gama, with his captains, took leave of the King, and set sail on their homeward voyage. The laden vessels were in all ten in number, and these stood well out to sea, but Vicente Sodré (who was to remain in the Indian seas for the protection of the factory at Cochin) accompanied the expedition for some distance, and with his caravels and ships ran along the shore with orders to sink everything he fell in with. As they were proceeding in this order, they one morning sighted the Calicut fleet, which was coming along the coast with a light land breeze. The first squadron under Cojambar, consisting of about twenty large ships and some seventy fustas and large sambuks, came on in single file, and extended for a considerable distance. Vicente Sodré ordered the caravels to edge close inshore in a line, and to run under all the sail they could carry, firing as many guns as they could, whilst he, with the ships, remained behind.

Each of the caravels carried thirty men, four heavy guns below, six falconets above, two of which fired astern, and ten swivel guns on the quarter-deck and in the bows. The ships carried six guns below on the deck, two smaller ones on the poop, eight falconets above, and several swivel guns, whilst two smaller pieces, which fired forwards, were placed before the mast. The ships of burden carried a heavier armament.

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As soon as the two fleets met, the caravels discharged all their guns at the Moorish flagship, which led the van, and with the first discharge the mast of the flagship was brought down. Vicente Sodré's caravels continued firing broadsides, and speedily three of the large Moorish ships were sunk. They continued their course, and, having passed the first squadron, they met the second squadron of the enemy, consisting of more than a hundred sail, principally sambuks, commanded by the Moor Coja Casem. Meanwhile Vicente Sodré's vessels went after his caravels and engaged Coja Casem's flagship. The Moorish vessels, not being so heavily armed as those of the Portuguese, the latter did great havoc, and so harassed the Moors that they began to make for the shore to avoid further damage. Upon this, the first squadron returned to their relief; but these were also very severely handled, and as they came to close quarters the Moors jumped overboard to escape. One vessel which was deserted, and captured by the Portuguese, was found to contain a very rich cargo, and a number of women and children, all belonging to Coja Casem, besides several other women belonging to rich Moors. In this vessel was an image of Mahomed, of solid gold and jewels, which Vicente Sodré took, together with some pretty girls, as a present for the Queen; but the rest of the women and merchandise he left to his captains and sailors. After having thus dispersed the Calicut fleet (many of which were sunk and more burnt) Sodré again went after some of the largest of the vessels, and on the approach of his fleet the Moors on board all leaped overboard, and swam for the land. He then took the deserted ships in tow, and when off Calicut he fastened them all together, and, having set them on fire, turned them to drift towards the shore. Vicente Sodré then proceeded with his fleet to Cananor, where he met da Gama, who had already arrived there with his homeward-bound vessels.

Having made all the necessary arrangements with re-

gard to the factory at Cananor, which he left in charge of Gil Fernandes Barbosa, Vasco da Gama obtained permission from the King to land a quantity of cannon there, and he also supplied the factory with many shot and some powder, all of which was buried so as to keep it out of sight; he also persuaded the King to have a high stone wall erected round the factory palisade, with a gate to fasten with a key, and that at night he should send to shut the gate, and keep the key. This the King agreed to, and forthwith had the work executed, thinking that in making this request da Gama desired that the Portuguese left in the factory should remain subject to him.

Vicente Sodré was left as captain-major of the sea, with power over everything by sea and land, and with instructions to cruise along the coast all the summer, doing as much injury as possible to the ships of Calicut, and, if opportunity offered, to endeavour to make prizes among the ships bound for Mecca.

Having made all the necessary arrangements with regard to those that were to remain in India, Vasco da Gama set sail on his homeward voyage on the 28th December, 1502. At Mount Dely he took in wood and water, and, sailing with a favourable wind, soon reached Melinde. Here he remained only long enough to exchange courtesies with the King, and take in fresh provisions, and thence sailed direct to Lisbon, where he arrived on the 1st of September, 1503, with ten ships laden with very great wealth. The King bestowed rewards upon all the captains, and to Dom Vasco da Gama he gave great favours; all his goods were allowed to enter free, and he granted him the anchorage dues of India, besides making him perpetual admiral of its seas, and one of the principal men of his kingdom.

After Dom Vasco da Gama had left Indian waters, the Zamorin of Calicut, being envious of the trade which Trimumpara, the King of Cochin, had entered into with the Portuguese, got together a very large army, with the view of driving the latter out of Cochin.

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There were several in Trimumpara's Council who endeavoured to persuade him to deliver up the Portuguese whom he had taken under his protection, in order to avoid the threatened war. To this, however, he absolutely refused to listen, preferring to submit to all the anticipated evils of an invasion rather than to commit such a breach of faith. Vicente Sodré arrived at Cochin about that time with his fleet, and was strongly urged by Diogo Fernandes Correa to remain there in order to assist Trimumpara against the threatened invasion. Vicente Sodré, however, urged that his orders were to cruise near the Red Sea and intercept the Arabian ships trading thence with India; and to all the arguments Correa could urge on the subject Sodré turned a deaf ear being influenced, it was believed, either by fear or by the hope of acquiring a rich booty. He then sailed for the Red Sea, and when off the coast of Cambay met with five Arabian ships, laden with valuable cargoes, which he plundered and burnt. Proceeding on his course he touched at the Curia Muria Islands, where he was well received and treated by the inhabitants.

Vicente Sodré resolved to remain here to effect some repairs to Pero de Ataide's ship, which was very leaky, and, notwithstanding the warnings of the natives that where he had cast anchor was both a dangerous and unsuitable place for the purpose, owing to its exposure to the high winds that prevailed at that time of the year, he persisted in carrying out his original intentions. Three of his captains endeavoured to persuade Sodré to listen to the warnings of the natives; but, as he remained obstinate, they removed their ships to another and more protected situation. As had been predicted, a sudden storm did shortly afterwards arise, and both Sodré and his brother were lost, and the remainder of the fleet only escaped with great difficulty.

On the death of Vicente Sodré the remaining captains selected Alvaro de Ataide as their admiral, and it was

determined to return to India at once to give assistance to the King of Cochin. Having arrived at Anjediva the weather became so bad that it was resolved to remain there for the winter, and to proceed to Cochin in the spring. CHAP. IV A.D. 1503.

In the meanwhile Trimumpara raised what troops he could, and made other necessary preparations to resist the impending invasion by the King of Calicut. Besides having a comparatively small army, he was beset by further difficulties, owing to the fact that at this important juncture many of his subjects and tributary chiefs deserted to the Zamorin.

The Zamorin, at the head of a force of 50,000 men, consisting of his own Nairs and the deserters from Cochin, marched to Repelim,* sixteen miles from Cochin. where he arrived on the 31st of March, 1503. At this juncture the Portuguese who were then at Cochin offered to retire to Cananor in order to relieve Trimumpara from the impending danger; but this he would not hear of, and desired that they should remain.

Trimumpara gave the command of his army to Narayan, the heir-apparent of the Cochin State, and sent him with 5,500 men to guard a pass through which it was expected the Zamorin would attempt to advance. On the 2nd April the Calicut army made an attempt on this pass, but were driven back. Next day Narayan was again attacked, but succeeded in holding his position on this and on several subsequent similar attacks. Having thus failed to effect his object by force, the Zamorin contrived to gain over to his interest by means of large bribes the paymaster of the King of Cochin's army, who accordingly neglected, as heretofore, to issue regular daily payments to the troops. Disaffection then soon began to show itself in Trimumpara's army, and numbers deserted. As soon as the forces under Narayan had been thus considerably reduced, the Zamorin's forces made an attack in

* An island city and kingdom between Calicut and Cochin

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great force upon the pass one night. Narayan made a gallant defence, but being overpowered by numbers he was killed, together with several of his officers; and his troops, finding themselves without a leader, took to flight, being followed for some distance by the enemy.

Trimumpara, upon learning of the defeat and death of Narayan, collected all his forces, and engaged the enemy in a pitched battle; but his small army was soon overcome, whereupon he retired, with his few remaining troops, and the Portuguese under his protection, to the island of Vypin. Again the Zamorin sent to demand the surrender of the Portuguese under his protection, offering in return to cease hostilities and retire from the territories of Cochin. Trimumpara, however, continued faithful in the midst of his dangers and difficulties, and indignantly refused the demand. The Zamorin, being greatly enraged at this, ordered the city of Cochin to be burnt, and he then went to besiege Vypin. This island, however, possessed many natural facilities for defence, and the small force which the King of Cochin had been able to take with him proved more than a match for the Zamorin's superior numbers. After several unsuccessful attempts to capture the island, as the winter season was now approaching, the Zamorin raised the siege and returned to Cochin, which he fortified with a ditch and rampart; and, having left a strong body of troops there, he departed for Calicut, intending to renew the attack after the Onam festival in August.

On the defeat of Narayan many more desertions took place from Trimumpara's army, and amongst these deserters were two Italians who had, by Dom Manoel's permission, accompanied Dom Vasco da Gama to India in his second voyage.

Whilst these events were happening in India and elsewhere, preparations were being made at Lisbon for the dispatch of another expedition to India. King Dom Manoel fully recognized the fact that, so long as the

Zamorin sided with the Moors in their hostility to the Portuguese, the affairs of the latter in India could not well be placed on a firm footing; he therefore determined to send out another expedition to build a fortress in Cochin, for the shelter of the people and the storage of merchandise. Accordingly, nine ships were prepared, to which three commands were appointed, each consisting of three ships. The first was given to Affonso de Albuquerque, the second to Francisco de Albuquerque, his cousin, and the third to Antonio de Saldanha The two former were to proceed to India and return with cargoes, and the last had orders to cruise off the mouth of the Red Sea against the ships of Mecca. Affonso de Albuquerque set out on the 6th of April, 1503, and had as his captains, Pero Vaz da Veiga and Duarte Pacheco Pereira, surnamed the Famous. Francisco de Albuquerque sailed on the 14th of April, accompanied by Nicolau Coelho and Fernão Martins de Almada; and Antonio de Saldanha had with him Ruy Lourenço Ravasco and Diogo Fernandes Pereira. Francisco de Albuquerque on his way fell in with the surviving four vessels of Sodré's squadron, at Anjediva, as well as with one that had been separated from Dom Vasco da Gama's fleet: he had, however, lost one of his own fleet, which was supposed to have been either sunk or burnt. These together arrived at Cochin some days before they were joined by Affonso de Albuquerque and his three ships. Francisco de Albuquerque having learned at Cananor the critical position of affairs at Cochin, at once pushed on, and arrived there on the 2nd September, 1503, and he was soon afterwards joined at Vypin, by Duarte Pacheco, with his vessel.

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As soon as the Calicut garrison that had been left in Cochin saw the arrival of these reinforcements they were struck with terror, and immediately left the city. Francisco de Albuquerque cordially thanked Trimumpara in the name of Dom Manoel for his fidelity, and presented him with the sum of 10,000 ducats. Without loss of

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time Francisco de Albuquerque conducted Trimumpara to Cochin and re-established him in the possession of his kingdom; he then sailed to a neighbouring island whose Prince had revolted from Trimumpara to the Zamorin, and falling unexpectedly upon the people, he killed many of them, burnt some of their towns and villages, and then returned to Cochin.

The next day Francisco de Albuquerque sailed for another island, the inhabitants of which had also proved unfaithful to Trimumpara. The Prince had collected a force of 2,000 for his defence, in addition to which a large number of paraos from Calicut were ready to assist him. Albuquerque ordered Duarte Pacheco to attack this fleet, whilst at the same time Nicolau Coelho, Antonio do Campo, and Pero de Ataide were to engage the land forces. Pacheco succeeded in sinking many of the paraos, and in driving away the remainder of the boats, after having killed a number of their men. On land also the enemy were completely routed at the first onset. The Portuguese then forced their way into the royal palace, and killed the Prince; after which they set fire to the building. In the same evening the expedition returned to Cochin.

Albuquerque sailed the following day against the island of Repelim, the Prince of which place had made preparations for a stout resistance. He had 2,000 Nairs under his command, and these he marched down towards the shore to contest the landing of the Portuguese. A warm engagement ensued, which lasted for some time, but the enemy were at last driven back, and fled for some distance, pursued by the Portuguese. The Prince succeeded in rallying his men on the outskirts of a large town, and drew them up in battle array to dispute the further advance of the invaders. Here the fight was renewed, and a fierce and bloody engagement took place, but the Portuguese arms were at length successful. A great number of the enemy were killed, and many were driven

headlong into the sea. The island was then given up to be plundered by Trimumpara's soldiery, and the towns and villages were subsequently burnt.

Having by these engagements restored the King of Cochin to his authority, Francisco de Albuquerque thought it a favourable opportunity to press his demands for permission to erect a fort as a protection for the Portuguese factory, and which would also serve as a defence to the King against any further attempt on the part of the Zamorin.

Trimumpara was now easily persuaded to comply with this request, as by his own acknowledgment he owed his life, his crown, and protection from his enemies entirely to the Portuguese. He not only sanctioned the construction of a fort, but even offered to undertake the work at his own expense. A convenient spot was forthwith selected, on an elevated situation commanding a narrow arm of the sea, and the foundation was laid on the 27th September, 1503. The King supplied a number of hands for the work, at which also all the Portuguese laboured, without distinction, in order to expedite its completion. Four days after the commencement of the fort Affonso de Albuquerque arrived at Cochin, bringing a further number of labourers for the work, which was speedily brought to a completion. As there existed no facilities for making an erection of stone, a stronghold was constructed of large palisades, filled in with earth, in the shape of a square, with flanking bastions at the corners, mounted with ordnance. The walls were made of double rows of cocoa-nut tree stems, securely fastened together, with earth rammed firmly between, and it was further protected by a wet ditch. This was the first fortress erected by the Portuguese in India. It was christened "Manoel," after the reigning King of Portugal.

After this, Albuquerque and the rest of the commanders, together with some of Trimumpara's soldiers, went to attack some towns belonging to the Prince of Repelim,

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situated near the banks of a river, about twenty miles distant from Cochin. This force proceeded up the river in their long boats, and taking the enemy by surprise, killed a large number of them, and made great devastation in their lands. The report of this attack soon spread, and the whole country rose in arms to expel the invaders, whilst above 6,000 Nairs hastened to the assistance of their countrymen. These attacked the Portuguese with so much fury that they forced them to retreat, and drove them back to the river; the latter, however, retired in good order, and succeeded in reaching their boats. In this retreat Duarte Pacheco had a narrow escape of being cut off, and would probably have been taken, or killed, had not Albuquerque gone to his aid. The whole expedition succeeded in getting back to Cochin with the loss of only eight men wounded, but not one killed. Many of the enemy were slain, seven of their paraos were taken, and fifteen burnt.

The following night another expedition set out in their long boats to destroy some other villages belonging to the Prince of Repelim. Affonso de Albuquerque went in advance of the rest with a party of his men; but the enemy, who lay in ambuscade, falling upon him with great fury, killed two of his men and wounded twenty. Affonso had to defend himself against the enemy till break of day, when Francisco de Albuquerque went with a force to his assistance, whereupon the enemy gave way and finally fled, followed by the Portuguese, who slew a number of them and burnt several villages.

The same day the Portuguese sailed for the island of Cambalam, where they killed over 700 men; thence they advanced into the territories of the Zamorin, where they laid waste the lands, and killed a number of the inhabitants. A force of 6,000 men gathered to attack the Portuguese and drive them out of the country; but these were ultimately repulsed, though not without great difficulty. About the same time Duarte Pacheco defeated

and drove off thirty-four paraos, which had been sent from Calicut to intercept the ships trading to Cochin.

The Zamorin and the Moors next resorted to other tactics. The Portuguese came for pepper and spices, and if unable to procure these they might perhaps leave the coast. The utmost exertions were therefore made to prevent them from getting a lading for their ships. Albuquerque sent Pacheco into the interior to procure pepper, but what he got after great exertions and fighting sufficed only to load one ship. Albuquerque had, soon after his arrival at Cochin, sent two vessels to Quilon to load pepper, and as soon as the fortress was completed, news having reached him that thirty ships had recently left Calicut bound for Coromandel, he hastened his departure for that place. At this time the heir to the throne was a minor, and the Queen Dowager governed as Regent. She generally lived in the interior of the country, and appointed a Council of leading men to manage the affairs of the State at Quilon. These men had been bribed by the Zamorin to oppose the establishment of the Portuguese in that place, but on the arrival of Albuquerque they were too much afraid of him to offer any resistance; gave him a hearty reception in the name of the Queen Regent, and permitted him to establish a factory there.

On this coming to the knowledge of the Zamorin he used every endeavour to induce the Queen to drive out the Portuguese from her dominions; she, however, replied that not only had the people of Quilon received no insult or injury from the Portuguese, but the latter were believed to be men of their word, and that, unless they were to act otherwise, it would not be possible to depart from what had already been agreed upon with them. One great cause of the success of Affonso de Albuquerque at Quilon was that here there were no Moors, or other foreigners with whom the Portuguese were likely to come into serious competition in the matter of trade.

Whilst Albuquerque was taking in cargo at Quilon the

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thirty ships from Calicut, with nine from elsewhere, hove in sight, and he immediately slipped his cables and went out to fight them. They, however, made for the harbour, where Albuquerque would have burnt them, but for the request of the principal men there that they might not be interfered with whilst in that port. Here the Calicut ships remained until the Portuguese vessels sailed, which they did on the 12th of January, 1504, after Albuquerque had renewed the treaty of peace with the governors of the place. Antonio de Sá remained behind as factor, with twenty-six men, and Padre Fr. Rodrigo consented to stay there to educate the people in the Catholic religion. There was already a church in the place called "Our Lady of Mercy," and many native Christians. In this church were three altars, on which stood three crosses, and one of these Albuquerque took away with him, to prove to the King that there were Christians in that land. Duarte Pacheco, with his ship and two caravels, with 100 men, were left behind for the assistance of the government in case of necessity.

On leaving Quilon, on 12th January, 1504, the Portuguese fleet went to Cochin to meet Francisco de Albuquerque; but the latter had gone to Calicut, where he concluded a short-lived treaty with the Zamorin. The conditions demanded by Albuquerque were: (1) 900 caddies of pepper to be paid to the Portuguese as compensation for past injuries; (2) the Moors to be required to give up their trade from Calicut, with Arabia, and Egypt; (3) permanent reconciliation to be concluded between the Zamorin and Cochin; and (4) the two Italian deserters to be delivered up. These terms, all except the last, were agreed to by the Zamorin, to the rage and indignation of the Moors, some of whom thereupon left Calicut. The treaty was, however, of but short duration, because of the capture by the Portuguese of a boat belonging to Calicut, laden with pepper intended for Cranganor. This was held by the Zamorin to be a violation of the recent treaty, and

as his remonstrance on the subject was treated with contempt, he resolved to renew hostilities against the Portuguese by both land and sea. Albuquerque having been joined by his cousin at Calicut, the two set out together for Cananor; but, as Francisco de Albuquerque delayed very much in taking in his cargo there, Affonso de Albuquerque sailed without him on 25th January, notwithstanding that Dom Manoel had ordered that they should keep together, and, having taken a Moorish pilot on board, he steered straight for Mozambique. On the way thence he put in at S. Braz for water, where he found a letter, sealed up and wrapped in a piece of waxed cloth, fastened upon a post, which stated that Antonio de Saldanha and a taforea (a large boat used in India for transport and carriage of horses), with a ship from Setubal, had arrived there in the month of October. Affonso de Albuquerque doubled the Cape on the 1st May, and as his ship was in a very leaky condition he put in at the Cape Verde Islands to refit. Having stayed here three days repairing the ships and taking in water, he started again for Portugal, and reached Lisbon at the end of July, 1504. He was received with great honour by the King, to whom he brought forty pounds of pearls and 400 pounds of seed pearl, a very large diamond, and two horses—one a Persian and the other an Arab—which were greatly esteemed, as they were the first of the kind that had been brought to Portugal. Francisco de Albuquerque sailed from Cananor with his ships on 5th February, and was lost on the way home, with the other two ships under his command, without anyone ever knowing where or how they were lost.

Antonio de Saldanha, who commanded the fleet destined to cruise off the mouth of the Red Sea, lost one of his vessels, commanded by Diogo Fernandes Pereira, before reaching the island of St. Thomas. Here he anchored for a time. Before reaching the Cape he endeavoured to land at another place, where he was met with opposition by the

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natives. To this he gave the name of *Aguada del Saldanha*, since known as *Saldanha Bay*. After leaving here, another vessel, commanded by Ruy Lourenço, was parted from him in a storm, by which also Saldanha was driven up to Mozambique, whence he held his course to Quiloa, where he took some small prizes. At Melinde he was joined again by Ruy Lourenço. Thence he proceeded to Zanzibar, where he took twenty small vessels. The King of that place attempted to capture Saldanha's ship, but the attack was repulsed, and some of his boats were captured. The King then appeared on the shore with an army of 4,000 men; but at the first volley his son was killed, and he then concluded a peace, in accordance with the terms of which he agreed to pay annually 100 mericales of gold as tribute to the King of Portugal. After this Saldanha visited Melinde, near which place Ruy Lourenço took two ships and three zambucos, wherein were twelve magistrates of the city of Brava, who submitted that city to Portugal with a yearly tribute of 500 mericales. After obliging the King of Mombassa to enter into an agreement with him, Saldanha proceeded onwards. Having passed Cape Guardafui he burnt a ship laden with frankincense, and forced another ashore that was carrying pilgrims to Mecca, after which the two vessels proceeded to India.

No sooner had Affonso de Albuquerque sailed from India than the Zamorin of Calicut formed a combination with other kings and lords of Malabar, including those of Tanur, Bespur, Cotugan and Corin, besides others of lesser note and power, to drive the Portuguese from Cochin, for which purpose they collected a large fleet, well armed with cannon, and a numerous land force, the latter being under the command of Naubea Darim, the nephew and heir of the Zamorin, and by Elancol, the lord of Repelim.

The force collected by the Zamorin is stated to have amounted altogether to 50,000 men, in which number were included 4,000 who formed the crews of 280 paraos, and other vessels, who were to attack Cochin by sea whilst

the rest of the forces assaulted it by land. These together had with them 382 cannon. The King of Cochin was greatly alarmed at these formidable preparations against him, and, but for the encouragement of Duarte Pacheco, he would have made no attempt at any resistance.

The command of the defence was given to Pacheco, who had with him, for this purpose, only a little over 100 Portuguese and 300 Malabarese troops. With this handful of men he boldly went forth to dispute the passage of the ford against the hordes of the Zamorin, leaving the King with his forces to guard the city of Cochin.

The first steps taken by Pacheco were to place sentries at all available passes, to prevent anyone from leaving the island, and, having disposed of his available forces to the best of his ability for the protection of the island, he determined to assume the offensive, and accordingly sent small parties across the river, which made marauding expeditions into the territories of Repelim and the adjoining country, where several villages were burnt and many of the peaceful inhabitants killed. As soon as the Zamorin learned of these incursions, he marched forward with his army toward Repelim. At the same time the Arabians in Cochin attempted to aid the attack by fomenting a revolt within the city; but this was frustrated by the vigilance of Pacheco.

The Zamorin advanced with his army towards Cambalam, near which place there was a practicable ford to the island of Cochin. This ford Pacheco prepared to defend, for which purpose he brought up what vessels he had available. In the largest ship, which was amply provided with cannon, firearms, and all sorts of warlike stores, he placed five men under the command of Diogo Pereira, with orders to defend the city and fort from all attacks of the enemy. He placed thirty-five men in the fort under the command of Ferdinão Correa; twenty-six

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men in one of the caravels under Pero Raphael, and, as the other caravel was being repaired, he fitted out two small vessels, one of which he placed in command of Diogo Petrez with twenty-three troops, and the other he reserved for himself with twenty-two men. To support this handful of men Trimumpara had only remaining with him a force of some 5,000 soldiers, as the remainder of his army had deserted to the Zamorin; of these he gave 500 men to Pacheco to assist in the defence of the ford.

As the Zamorin's forces had not reached the ford by the time Pacheco had posted his vessels to defend it, the latter sailed with a small body of men to the harbour of Repelim, and engaged a body of archers, who attempted to prevent them from landing. These, however, after a fight of some hours, were driven back, and Pacheco thereupon burnt the town and carried off with him a large herd of oxen.

On the following day the Zamorin arrived with his whole army, to support which he had also fitted out a fleet of 160 ships, including seventy-six paraos which, at the suggestion of the two Milanese deserters, had been covered with sacks filled with cotton, as a defence against cannon-balls. These men had constructed for the Zamorin several cannons of brass, and had designed besides some other warlike engines; at their instance also twenty paraos linked together with chains were sent in advance of the rest of the fleet. The commanders of these paraos had orders to attack the caravel, and to endeavour to seize her with their grappling-hooks as quickly as possible. Pacheco adopted a somewhat similar plan, and by connecting three of his vessels together by chains and stationing them across the stream he effectually barred the passage of the river.

At the first attack by the enemy, the 500 men whom Trimumpara had sent to aid in the defence deserted, leaving Pacheco with only his 111 men to resist the attack. A fierce engagement ensued, and after a stout resistance by the Portuguese for some hours, a shot from a heavy gun

broke the chain that connected the leading paraos, and caused four of them to retreat; the others, however, advanced, but ultimately eight were sunk and thirteen others were forced to retire, whereupon the attack from that quarter began to flag. At this juncture, however, the Prince of Repelim, who had held his forces in reserve, advanced to the attack, and, at the same time, the Zamorin attempted to force the passage of the ford with the main body of his army. The engagement was stubborn and long, but in the end the Zamorin's troops failed in their attempt and retired, having lost no less than 1,030 men, whilst amongst the Portuguese several had been wounded, but none killed.

After this victory the Portuguese at once set to work to repair their ships with all expedition, and they also refitted the other caravel. The Zamorin, acting on the advice of the soothsayers, did not at once renew the engagement; but Pacheco, being determined to give him no rest, crossed over to Cambalam, where he ravaged the country, burnt the villages, killed many of the inhabitants, and carried away a considerable amount of booty.

In the meantime the Zamorin, having received reinforcements from Calicut of 200 ships of war, eighty smaller vessels, and 15,000 men, sent one of his officers with seventy paraos to attack the ship that had been left to defend the city of Cochin, with the view of drawing away some of the Portuguese from the ford, and so dividing their forces. Immediately on hearing of this, Pacheco sailed to Cochin with one of the caravels and one of the smaller vessels, and immediately he came within sight of Cochin, the enemy's vessels sailed away for Repelim as quickly as possible, whereupon Pacheco, instead of following them, returned with all haste to his former position.

On arrival at Cambalam, Pacheco found the Portuguese position in extreme danger. The caravel left there had been vigorously attacked and was riddled with holes, her rigging was demolished, and the protective sacks of cotton

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had been torn from her sides, whilst the smaller vessels were in an almost equally precarious state. The enemy were pressing the attack by both land and water, when Pacheco unexpectedly arrived with his two vessels, and attacked them in the rear. The battle waged furiously for some time, but at length the forces of the Zamorin began to give way, and ultimately took to flight after having lost seventy-nine of their paraos and 290 men.

The Zamorin was greatly enraged at this second defeat, and at once made preparations to renew the attack. Pacheco ordered the men under him to keep themselves as much as possible out of sight, and to observe a strict silence until he should give orders to the contrary. The enemy, supposing that the Portuguese were now mostly exhausted or wounded, and unable to offer further resistance, advanced again to the attack, shouting, and in great hurry and disorder; whereupon, at a given signal, Pacheco's men rushed on deck, and with great noise attacked their assailants briskly with their cannon and other weapons. They speedily sank several of their paraos, scattered others, and committed great execution amongst the enemy, who speedily broke and retired. The Prince of Repelim rallied the men and led them again to the attack, but they were afraid to approach the Portuguese closely; whereupon the Zamorin sent Naubea Darim with orders to at once force the passage of the ford and fall upon the Portuguese. He made the attempt, but his men met with such a warm reception that they were speedily routed, and put to flight with a loss of sixty paraos and over 600 men.

Being again frustrated in his attempts against Cochin, the Zamorin now withdrew. Pacheco followed and attacked his fleet for some distance as they retired, and afterwards crossed over and burnt several villages, killing many of their inhabitants.

The Zamorin would probably have refrained from again renewing the attack but for the advice of the Prince of

Repelim, of certain Arabians who were in his Council, and of the two Milanese. These pointed out the loss of reputation he would sustain by acknowledging a defeat, and suggested that another attempt to cross to the island of Cochin should be made by the fords of Palignard and Palurt.

Being informed of the Zamorin's intention, Pacheco set out for Palignard with 200 of the King of Cochin's soldiers and a few Portuguese. Here he was met by a body of the enemy, which he defeated, taking fifty prisoners, and killing most of the rest. He then sailed for Palurt, about two miles distant, where he learned that the Zamorin intended to endeavour to force the pass at Palignard the following day; Pacheco thereupon left some of his officers and the largest ships at Palurt, and returned in haste with his smaller vessels to Palignard, having first taken the precaution to have the trees opposite the ford at Palurt cut down, to prevent them from serving as a protection to the enemy.

Pacheco observed that the fords at Palurt and Palignard could not be passed at the same time, for whereas at high water the latter could not be passed on foot, it was not deep enough for the smallest vessels, whilst that at Palurt could only be passed by ships at high water; so that when the former could be crossed on foot, the latter had not sufficient depth for ships, nor was it sufficiently shallow to be forded.

This discovery greatly facilitated the defence of those places; a few men were stationed at each, and arrangements made that at a given signal those from the one ford should hurry to the assistance of the others. Early the following morning the Prince of Cochin went to the assistance of Pacheco with 600 men. The first attack of the enemy was made at Palurt, where at break of day they began to attack the Portuguese ships with their cannon. A fleet of about 250 vessels was also seen approaching, but before these could arrive Pacheco crossed over with a small

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party, attacked the enemy's position, and succeeded in driving them off, when, having spiked their guns, he again retired to his ships.

The enemy's vessels soon after arrived and began to attack the Portuguese ships, but after a long artillery duel their paraos were driven off and many of them sunk. The Prince of Repelim then made two unsuccessful attempts to cross the ford, being on each occasion forced to retire with the loss of many men.

Being repulsed at Palurt, the Zamorin and Naubea Darim went with a large force to Palignard. The attempt to cross this ford was led by Naubea Darim in person, but he was twice forced to retreat with considerable loss, and soon after his second failure a plague broke out in the enemy's camp, which put a stop for a time to further hostile operations on the part of the Zamorin.

Pacheco took advantage of this respite to repair his vessels, to furnish them with fresh supplies of arms and ammunition, and to make all necessary preparations. Amongst other means of defence he had a number of stakes cut, the ends of which were sharpened and hardened in the fire. These were driven deep into the mud at low water, so that they could not easily be drawn out, with the view of rendering the ford impassable on foot.

In due course the Zamorin again advanced his army to the attack. His artillery consisted of thirty brass cannon, which was sent in advance of the main body of the army, guarded by 4,000 picked men. The first line of the main army consisted of 12,000 men, under the comand of Naubea Darim; next came the Prince of Repelim with a similar number, and the Zamorin brought up the rear with 15,000 troops. To oppose this overwhelming force Pacheco had only two vessels with forty Portuguese, and the 200 men sent by the King of Cochin, who were stationed in a place of great natural strength on shore, defended by a rampart. These latter, however, deserted as soon as the attack was first commenced.

The enemy having placed their cannon opposi Portuguese ships, endeavoured to oblige them tc their station at the ford. Pacheco made, at first, no to their attack, but after awhile he drew his vessels ne to the shore and commenced a vigorous attack upon th enemy with all his guns, which were pointed with so much judgment that he soon obliged them to seek shelter in some neighbouring woods. Naubea Darim now advanced with his troops, and made an attempt to force the passage of the ford, but was held in check by the fire of the Portuguese guns. The Zamorin came up to his support with the rest of his army, and a most persistent effort was made to cross; the Zamorin personally encouraging his men until a shot from one of the Portuguese vessels killed two officers by his side. He then retired a little, but the men were urged forward by their officers with the points of their swords. Upon entering the ford, however, they came upon the pointed stakes, which wounded them in their feet and caused many to fall down.

When the advanced party of the enemy were thus thrown into confusion, the men in front being unable to advance on account of the stakes, or to retire by reason of those in the rear pressing upon them, the Portuguese poured in ceaseless broadsides from their vessels, and so held them in check until the tide began again to flow, and the ford became impassable by reason of the depth of water. The Zamorin again had a narrow escape for his life, and at last withdrew his forces. This engagement lasted from break of day until nine o'clock, and it is alleged the Zamorin lost here more men and ships than in any previous encounter with the Portuguese; whilst of the latter, although many were wounded, not one of them was killed.

As soon as the enemy had retired, the King of Cochin came to congratulate Pacheco upon his success. The latter at once gave orders for suitable refreshments to be provided for his men after their recent exertions, and then

.o the repair and re-equipment of his vessels, so e prepared in case of a future emergency.

.e Zamorin was exceedingly indignant at the failure .is numerous forces to defeat the few Portuguese that ere opposed to them. The Prince of Repelim, however, .n order to appease him, endeavoured to accomplish by treachery what had in vain been attempted by force; and to this end he bribed certain men in Cochin to poison the water and food supplied to the Portuguese. Pacheco having been informed of this, ordered fresh wells to be dug every day, and also that none of his soldiers were to buy any food without first making the vendor eat some of it.

Failing in these attempts, the Prince of Repelim next determined to convey a detachment of men by water at night to Cochin, to set fire to the city, and then to fall upon the inhabitants. This project was, however, also frustrated by the vigilance of Pacheco, who, not content with maintaining his own position, made frequent inroads into the enemy's country, where he did a considerable amount of damage.

In retaliation for these constant attacks, the Zamorin equipped a fleet to ravage the coast of Cochin, but in several engagements with the Portuguese vessels these suffered many defeats, whilst some of the enemy's paraos were captured. At length the Zamorin determined to make another attack upon the Portuguese, to which end he brought an army of 30,000 men, in addition to a large number commanded by the Prince of Repelim, and a fleet consisting of 100 large ships, 110 paraos and eighty pinnaces, in addition to eight turrets constructed upon paraos, and a large float of timber, pitched and bound with tow, which it was intended to set on fire and send down upon the Portuguese vessels.

Pacheco having been informed of these preparations by the enemy, protected his vessels by means of a number of masts eighty feet in length, with which he

made large floats, and anchored them at a distance from his ships' prows, so as to prevent the too near approach of the enemy's castles. As the land forces of the enemy approached, Pacheco set out for the island of Arraul, where he attacked and killed some of their advance parties, and then retired to his ships.

At daybreak the enemy's fleet appeared in sight; the timber float was set on fire and sent down the river towards the Portuguese vessels, but the masts anchored in the stream effectually kept it off from doing any damage. The engagement then became general, and the Portuguese were on the point of being overpowered by the enemy when a shot from one of their big guns brought down their largest turret; soon afterwards a second turret was similarly destroyed, and many of the enemy's paraos were sunk.

An attempt was at the same time made by the land forces of the Zamorin to cross the ford, which was opposed by Christopher Jusart and Simão Andrade in two small ships, aided by some paraos, and a native force of 1,000 men, commanded by the Prince of Cochin. The engagement was most fierce, and lasted from break of day till the evening, during the whole of which time the Zamorin's large army was not only effectually kept in check, but large numbers of them were killed and many of their ships destroyed.

In the evening, the tide setting in very strong, brought that day's engagement to a close.

The Zamorin now despairing of success, would have retired his forces altogether, but was persuaded by some of his people to make one more effort to attain his object. He accordingly again attacked the Portuguese; but his army and navy being now disheartened by repeated defeats, made but a feeble attempt, and were easily routed. The Zamorin thereupon withdrew, and returned to Calicut, thus bringing to an end this war, which had lasted for five months, during which it is alleged that the army

CHAP. IV. A.D. 1504.

of Calicut lost about 19,000 men, together with a considerable number of their ships. A peace was subsequently concluded between the King of Cochin and the Zamorin.

A report having been spread, before the conclusion of this war, that all the Portuguese in Cochin had been killed, those in Cananor and Quilon were placed in considerable danger of their lives. In consequence of this, as soon as he could safely leave Cochin, Duarte Pacheco went to Quilon, where he found that the Arabians had killed one Portuguese, and that the Arabian ships were loaded in the harbour whilst those of Dom Manoel were empty. Pacheco thereupon made a strong remonstrance to the leading men of the city, and demanded a strict adherence to the articles of their treaty, wherein it was expressly mentioned that no ship would be allowed to take in spices until the Portuguese should have received their lading. These men replied that the breach of treaty in this respect was not due to any preference shown by them to the Arabians, but to the importunity of the latter, backed as that was by their power and wealth. They accordingly authorised Pacheco to unload the Arabian vessels and fill his own with their cargoes, which he accordingly did, paying the Arabians the full value of the goods thus taken. He then sailed away from Quilon, and cruising along the coasts of India, took and plundered several ships, and then returned to Cochin.

Dom Vasco da Gama having impressed upon King Manoel how necessary it was to increase the Portuguese forces in India, in 1504 His Majesty fitted out a fleet of thirteen of the largest ships that had hitherto been built in Portugal, and gave the command of them to Lopo Soarez de Algabaria, who went out accompanied by a force of 1,200 men. His captains were Pero de Mendoça, Leonel Coutinho, Tristão da Silva, Lopo Mendes de Vasconsellos, Lopo de Abreu da Ilha, Philipe de Castro, Pedro Affonso de Aguiar, Vasco de Silveira, Manoel Telles

Barreto, Affonso Lopez da Costa, Vasco Carvalho, and Pero Dinis de Setuval. This expedition left Lisbon on 22nd April, 1504.

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On his way out, Lopo Soarez heard both at Mozambique and at Melinde of the invasion of Cochin by the Zamorin, whereupon he made all haste with his journey. The first land of India which he touched at was Anjediva, where he found Antonio de Saldanha and Ruy Lourenço refitting preparatory to a cruise off the coast of Cambay against the Moorish ships from Mecca; he also heard here of the defeat of the Zamorin's army, and of the valiant conduct of Pacheco, and that there were then at Calicut several Portuguese prisoners who had been detained there ever since Cabral was in India. Lopo Soarez ordered Saldanha and Lourenço to accompany him, and, having called in at Cananor, the whole fleet appeared before Calicut, when a demand was at once sent on shore for the surrender of the Portuguese prisoners and of the two Milanese: the Zamorin was then absent, but the chief men, whilst refusing to give up the Milanese, expressed themselves quite willing to liberate the Portuguese captives. This compromise Soarez refused to accept, and he thereupon bombarded the city for two days. Having laid a great part of it in ruins and killed some 300 of its inhabitants, he proceeded to Cochin on 14th September, where he arrived just as Pacheco returned there from Quilon.

The King of Cochin having complained of certain damage he had received from Cranganor, which place had been fortified by the Zamorin, and that the latter was preparing another force against Cochin, Lopo Soarez went up the river with twenty vessels, and having defeated an army commanded by Naubea Darim, he burnt the town and all the vessels he found there. The Portuguese spared the houses, shops, and churches of Christians, but they looted those of the Jews and Moors. Lopo Soarez left Manoel Tellez Barreto with four ships for the protection of Cochin, taking Duarte Pacheco away with him.

CHAP. IV.

A.D. 1506

The only other notable incident connected with Lopo Soarez's stay on the coast was his destruction of a large Moorish fleet at Pantalayini Kollam. It had assembled there to take back to Arabia and Egypt a large number of Moors, who were leaving the country disheartened at the trade losses caused to them by the Portuguese. It was a crushing blow, for it is said Soarez captured seventeen vessels and slew 2,000 men. The Zamorin, too, felt the weight of it, for he had hitherto relied on the Moors for assistance, and it was by their aid chiefly he obtained a pre-eminence on the coast. Soarez sailed from India in the beginning of January, and arrived at Lisbon on 20th July, 1506, with thirteen vessels laden with riches, three of which had belonged to the previous year's fleet. Of his own fleet he lost Pero de Mendoça, whose ship, being stranded near S. Braz, was never heard of again, and two other vessels were also lost, of which one was commanded by Fernandes Pereira, who, after taking several prizes off Melinde, discovered the island of Socotra.

On the return of Lopo Soarez, the King paid the highest honours to Duarte Pacheco in recognition of his valour, but he was subsequently imprisoned on charges which were afterwards proved to have been false, and although he was thereupon released and restored to his dignity, he was allowed to end his days in obscure poverty.

CHAPTER V.

Success of the Portuguese affects the Trade of the Moors—Threat by the Soldan of Cairo, who Constructs a Fleet to Attack the Portuguese—Appointment of Dom Francisco de Almeida as First Viceroy of India—Erection of a Fort at Quiloa—Attack on Mombassa — Erection of a Fort at Anjediva and its subsequent Abandonment—Attack on Onor—Erection of a Fort at Cananor—Attack on Quilon—Crowning of the King of Cochin —Cochin Constituted the Seat of Government—Erection of a Fort at Zofala—Attack on Zofala Fort—Combined Attack of the Zamorin and Turks against Cananor—Discovery of Ceylon —Attack on Diu by a Turkish Fleet and Death of Dom Lourenço de Almeida—Mutiny amongst Albuquerque's Captains—Charges against Affonso de Albuquerque—He is Imprisoned by the Viceroy—Release of Albuquerque and his Assumption of the Government.

A.D. 1505.

THE success of the Portuguese in India had already begun most seriously to affect the trade thence *viâ* the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, which was conducted by the Moors between the cities of Calicut, Cambay, Ormuz, and Aden. From Ormuz, the produce of India was conveyed to Europe up the Persian Gulf to Bussora, at the mouth of the Euphrates, and thence distributed by caravan through Armenia, Trebisond, Tartary, Aleppo, and Damascus, and to the port of Beyrout on the Mediterranean, whence the Venetians, Genoese, and Catalonians conveyed it by ship to their respective countries. From Aden it was conveyed up the Red Sea to Toro or Suez, and thence by caravan to Grand Cairo, and so down the Nile to Alexandria, where it was shipped for Europe. Those interested in these several routes, who were naturally great losers by the Portuguese trade with India, combined to drive the latter out of India, and, in accordance

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with an arrangement to this effect, the Soldan of Cairo gave out that he was about to destroy the holy places of Jerusalem in revenge for the damage done to his trade. This threat was communicated to the Pope, to whose representations on the subject the King of Portugal replied that his intentions in these Eastern discoveries tended to the propagation of the faith, and the extension of the jurisdiction of the see of Rome, and that he would on no account relax in his efforts to destroy the Mohammedan power. By this the Sultan understood that his representation and threats were of no avail, and he accordingly commenced the construction of a fleet to harass the Portuguese trade in India.

This was shortly afterwards followed by more vigorous efforts than before by the Portuguese to consolidate their power in India, and to weaken that of their rivals. To this end King Manoel resolved to bring about the complete overthrow of the Moorish trade by seizing Aden, Ormuz, and Malacca; the first two being the ports through which their Eastern trade reached Europe *viâ* Alexandria and Beyrout respectively, and the last being that at which they exchanged goods with China. He accordingly determined to send out a governor to remain for three years in India, with a sufficient force to protect the Portuguese settlements there. The King first of all intended to confer the appointment upon Tristão da Cunha, but he being taken suddenly ill at the time when he should have started, it was given to Dom Francisco de Almeida, to whom special instructions were issued for the erection of forts at Anjediva, Cananor, Cochin, and Quilon. On 25th March, 1505, Almeida sailed from Lisbon with a fleet of twenty-two ships, eleven of which were to return with merchandise and the rest to remain in India. Besides their crews, the fleet carried 1,500 fighting men.

On the 2nd July the fleet encountered a severe storm, during which the vessels were separated, and one was lost.

Dom Francisco de Almeida arrived at Quiloa with only eight vessels, but was joined by others shortly afterwards. On entering the port he saluted as usual, but his salute was not replied to, whereupon he complained to the King, but as he vouchsafed no apology or reply, Dom Francisco determined to exact satisfaction. He accordingly landed with 500 men, and speedily drove Mir Abraham, the King, who was, however, a usurper, from the island, and crowned in his stead Mahomet Aucomi, a kinsman of Mir Abraham, in recognition of faithful services rendered by him to the Portuguese. He accepted the crown, but requested that his heir might be declared to be the son of the lawful King Alfudail, as the latter had been murdered by the late usurper, thus passing over his own sons whom he conceived to have no just claim to the throne. After this Dom Francisco erected a fort on the island of Quiloa, into which he placed 550 men for its defence, and he also left a caravel and brigantine to cruise there. He left Quiloa on 8th August for Mombassa, where he arrived with thirteen vessels. Before entering the harbour he sent two vessels to sound over the bar, which was commanded by a fort mounting eight guns. These began to fire on the boats, but were soon silenced by the guns from the ships. Two smaller forts were similarly silenced, and the fleet then entered without further resistance. Dom Francisco having sent a message to the King, which was replied to with insolent taunts, he landed with a body of men on 15th August, and speedily drove the enemy out of the city, and possessed himself of the King's palace. Whilst this was proceeding on shore the ships captured and burnt all the native vessels they found in the port. Afterwards the city was burnt to the ground. Some of the vessels that had been separated by the storm now arrived at Mombassa, whereupon Dom Francisco sent two of them before him to India to carry the news of what he had done, and to make the necessary preparations for his arrival. He followed after

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with fourteen ships, and anchored in the bay of Angra de Santa Elena, where he found João Homem, captain of a caravel. Sailing thence the first port he touched in India was Anjediva, which place was reached on 13th September.

The news of the vigorous measures adopted against the Moors at Quiloa and Mombassa having preceded him, the King of Onor and the Moors of Cincatora sent representatives and gifts to Dom Francisco de Almeida to ensure his friendship. At Anjediva he erected a fort, and it is said that in digging the foundations the Portuguese came across stones bearing a cross. This was held as an indication that the place had once been the abode of Christians, but it was probably not then recognised that the cross was originally a heathen emblem. Into this fort Almeida put a captain and eighty men, and left behind a galleon and two brigantines to cruise in the neighbourhood. Whilst this work was going on he sent his son, Dom Lourenço, under plea of a friendly visit, to inspect a fort, of which he had been informed, on the borders of Onor, that had been built by the Prince Sabago, and garrisoned by 800 men.

From Anjediva Dom Francisco went to Onor, but not being well received he burnt the town and a number of ships which he found there. In this enterprise Dom Francisco was wounded by an arrow, and having driven the enemy out of the town, Timoja, the governor of the city, at an interview, excused the King for what had occurred, and in his name offered vassalage to Portugal. Thence Dom Francisco sailed to Cananor, where he arrived on 24th October, and obtained permission from the King to build a fort, which he accordingly did, and called it "S. Angelo." The command of this fort he gave to Lourenço de Brito, with 150 men, and he left there two vessels to defend it and to cruise off the coast. Here he assumed the title of Viceroy. He also received a visit from the Minister of Narasimba Rao, of Vijayanagar, who

then ruled the chief portion of Southern India, who proposed an alliance of marriage between his master's daughter and the King of Portugal's son.

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From Cananor Dom Francisco proceeded to Cochin, where he arrived on 1st November. He received the sad intelligence that the factor at Quilon with all his men had been killed by the Moors, whereupon he sent his son, Dom Lourenço, with three ships and three caravels to procure lading at that port, with orders to appear as though unaware of what had occurred there, but in case of any opposition he was to avenge the murder of the Portuguese. The messenger whom Dom Lourenço sent on shore was received with a shower of arrows, and twenty-four ships from Calicut and other places that were in the port prepared for defence. Dom Lourenço attacked the ships with vigour, and having burnt them all he returned to Cochin in time to take part in the ceremony of crowning the King of that place, by Dom Francisco, with a crown of gold set with jewels, which had been brought from Portugal for that purpose. This honour was to have been conferred upon Trimumpara in recognition of the gallantry wherewith he had defended the Portuguese against their enemies, but, as he had now abdicated, his successor, Nambeadan, was crowned in his stead. Six ships were then richly laden, and sent back to Portugal. Dom Francisco established his principal residence at Cochin, thus constituting it, for the time, the seat of Portuguese government in India. In order to secure his position here he strengthened and rebuilt the fort.

Whilst these events were taking place in India, another expedition was consolidating the Portuguese power in Eastern Africa. In order to secure the trade of the gold at Zofala, Dom Manoel had ordered a fort to be built at Quiloa, which, as has already been stated, was carried out by Dom Francisco de Almeida. Another fort had been erected at Mozambique, and a factory established at Melinde. After the departure of Dom Francisco de Almeida,

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Dom Manoel sent out Pedro de Annaya, with six ships, to build a fort at Zofala. Three of the ships were to go on to India and return with lading, whilst the other three were to cruise off the coast of Zofala. Pedro de Annaya experienced no difficulty in obtaining leave to erect a fort at Zofala, whereby the trade at that port was secured; but in granting it the King had hoped that the unhealthiness of the country would speedily oblige the Portuguese to quit it.

The three trading ships sailed towards India, under the command of Pero Barreto, and two of the remaining three were ordered to guard the coast up to Cape Guardafui, the command of which Pedro de Annaya gave to his son Francisco. These two were, however, lost, but their captains managed to escape in the boats. A wooden fort having been constructed at Zofala, the Moors of the place were anxious for its destruction, naturally fearing that it would be the means of interfering with their trade, and they accordingly intrigued with the King's son-in-law, whom they induced to espouse their cause. He experienced no difficulty in persuading the King to expel the Portuguese, and, taking advantage of a time when many of them were sick, he surrounded the fort with 5,000 Cafres, and filled the ditch with faggots. Within the fort were only thirty-five Portuguese capable of bearing arms, but these did such execution with their cannon that they killed immense numbers of the enemy, after which Pedro de Annaya made a sally with some twenty men, and drove the remainder of the assailants from before the fort. In the night Annaya with a few men attacked the town, and entering the palace, the King wounded him in the neck with a scimitar, but was himself immediately slain; he then retired to the fort, which was the following day again attacked by the King's sons and all the Moors of the place, but these were also successfully repulsed with considerable loss. The two sons of the late King shortly fell out about the succession to the throne, but one of

these, named Solyman, having gained the support of Annaya, was crowned by him, and for his own security entered into a strong alliance with, and gave countenance and encouragement to, the Portuguese. We must now return to India.

Seeing that the Portuguese were establishing their position in India, the Zamorin of Calicut sought the aid of the Soldan of Cairo, in conjunction with whom preparations were made with much secrecy for a great naval attack, with the view of driving them from the Eastern seas. A travelling European, however, named Ludovic of Bologna, disguised as a Moslem fakir, visiting Calicut, fell in there with the two Italian deserters in the Zamorin's employ, fraternised with them, and soon ascertained that preparations on a big scale were afoot. He succeeded in escaping to the Cananor fort, and was thence dispatched to Cochin to lay his information before the Viceroy. Dom Francisco thereupon sent his son, Dom Lourenço, with eleven sail to counteract any attempts that might be made to that effect, who, having learned that there was a large fleet in the Roads of Cananor, he proceeded thither on the 16th March, 1506, just in time to intercept an armada of Turks and Moors, which the Zamorin had launched against Cananor. This armada consisted of large vessels, gathered from Ponani, Calicut, Kappatt, Pantalayini Kollam, and Darmapattanam. Lourenço de Almeida steered his ship straight between two vessels carrying Turkish troops, and soon dispersed the enemy, whose armada retreated towards Darmapattanam. The wind falling adverse, however, they were again driven north towards Cananor. They sent a message to Lourenço to say they had not come to fight, and wished to pass to the northward. To this, however, Lourenço would not listen; he again closed with them, and nearly 3,000 Moslems, it is said, fell in the battle, and the ships that survived the attack were scattered in all directions. The Portuguese loss was very slight, and the victory so com-

CHAP. V. A.D. 1506.

pletely established their naval superiority that no further attempt was, for the time, made to dispute it

No sooner had Dom Lourenço given a good account of the enemy at Cananor than the news reached him that the fort at Anjediva was attacked by sixty vessels, commanded by a renegado. These received considerable damage from the well-directed fire from the fort, and when they heard that Dom Lourenço was on his way to its relief, they speedily retired. The Viceroy, however, soon after this, feeling that he had not sufficient forces at his command, decided to give up Anjediva fort, and to concentrate his troops in the Cananor and Cochin forts, which sufficiently protected the trade.

The Moors, seeing that their trade was being cut off by the Portuguese, endeavoured to avoid their vessels by keeping out at sea in their voyages to Sumatra and Malacca, whither they went for spice. Accordingly, they avoided as much as possible the Indian coast, and took a course through the Maldive Islands, bearing away thence south of Ceylon. This coming to the knowledge of the Viceroy, he sent his son from Cochin, with nine ships, to cruise in that direction, and to stop this route also to the Moorish ships. Dom Lourenço sailed from Cochin for the Maldives at the end of 1505, or beginning of 1506; but, as the Portuguese pilots were quite ignorant of the navigation of those parts, they cruised about for eighteen days without discovering the islands, and were driven by the currents towards Ceylon, where, by chance, they ultimately fetched the chief port of that island, called Colombo, which Dom Lourenço entered. Here he found several Moorish vessels, from various parts, loading with cinnamon, and taking in elephants for Cambay. The Moors, fearing Dom Lourenço's vengeance, presented him with 400 bahares of cinnamon. He was well received by the King, with whom he concluded a treaty of friendship and trade, under which His Majesty agreed to pay tribute in cinnamon and elephants to the King of

Portugal, who, in return, was to protect Ceylon from all enemies.* He then planted a cross, with an inscription recording his arrival at Colombo, and returned to Cochin. Doubt has, by some, been thrown upon the existence of a treaty at that time with any King of Ceylon, since the advantages it is stated to have afforded to the Portuguese for trade in that island were not followed up, no subsequent visit having been paid to the island by Portuguese vessels until 1518, an interval of thirteen years. On his way to Cochin, Dom Lourenço attacked and burnt the town of Biranjam, which belonged to the King of Quilon, in revenge for the death of the Portuguese killed at the latter place.

CHAP. V.

A.D. 1507.

In 1507 the Zamorin, seeing his power at sea and on land almost gone, in consequence of the damage done to his ships in various ports of India, sent word to Melique Az, lord of Diu, captain of the King of Cambay, complaining of the Portuguese, and asking him to seize any ships carrying pepper and drugs to ports in Cambay, and to make war against the Portuguese in every way, in which he, the Zamorin, undertook to afford every assistance. Melique Az, however, refused to entertain this proposal, being satisfied that the enterprise was a hopeless one, and could only result in damage and loss to his own territory. These negotiations having come to the knowledge of Dom Francisco de Almeida, he fitted out a squadron of ships to take the offensive, the command of which he gave to Dom Lourenço.

Gonçalo Vaz, who was at Cananor with his ship at the time, at once proceeded to join Dom Lourenço's fleet, and

*According to one account, contained in *Noticias para a Historia e Geografia das Naçoes Ultramarinas*, published by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Lisbon, Dom Lourenço further succeeded in obtaining a foothold on the summit of a rock projecting out into the sea, on which he erected a wooden palisade, sufficient to resist any sudden attack, within which he placed João da Silva. as captain, with 200 soldiers, a factor, a scrivener, and a chaplain ; he also provided the place with all necessaries, together with four boats for its further protection. This, however. seems improbable, since the island was not again visited by Portuguese vessels for several years afterwards.

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meeting on his way with a ship of Cananor, sailing with a Portuguese* pass, he sunk it with all the Moors sewed up in a sail, for which violation of faith he was subsequently deprived of his command. Dom Lourenço proceeded with his fleet to Chaul, and, when off that port, seven Moorish ships arrived, but, as they stood in without answering his salute, he followed them in his boats, whereupon the crews leapt overboard, hoping to swim ashore. They were, however, closely followed, and many of them were slain; the ships also, which were laden with horses and other goods, were all burnt with their cargoes. Dom Lourenço then proceeded to Dabhol, where he discovered the Calicut fleet a short distance up the river. He was in favour of an immediate engagement, but was overruled by his council who, considering the narrowness of the stream, deemed that it could only be undertaken at great disadvantage and risk. The enterprise was accordingly not attempted, and the fleet left the neighbourhood; but, when it had proceeded about four leagues, the leading vessels espied a ship sailing up a river, and two of them followed until it cast anchor opposite to a town† where there were several other vessels. Seeing the chase, Dom Lourenço sent a galley after them, and the three together began to clear the shore of many natives assembled there; proceeding up the river they burnt all the ships in the harbour, excepting two laden with riches from Ormuz, which they carried away. They also burnt a house on shore that was full of much valuable merchandise. Dom Lourenço then returned to Cochin, where he was coldly received by his father for

* At this time the Portuguese allowed no native vessels to ply on the coast without their passes, signed by the commandants either of Cochin or of Cananor; it was, however, discovered that several Calicut Moors used to carry on their trade under cover of this permission, and the Portuguese captains were not, therefore, very particular as to what vessels they took. The vessel referred to above carried a pass from Lourenço de Brito, which Gonçalo Vaz declared to be a forgery, and accordingly captured the ship

† This was probably the town of Jeygurh, near the mouth of the Shastree river.

not having attacked the Calicut fleet at Dabhol. He was, however, excused on the ground of his having been influenced in the matter by the council of his captains, but these latter were all deprived of their commands and sent back to Portugal.

It appears that on board the vessel destroyed by Gonçalo Vaz was the nephew of Mammale Marakkar, a rich merchant of Malabar, whose body was washed ashore. The real facts of the case not being known at Cananor, the blame for the destruction of this ship was not unnaturally attributed to Lourenço de Brito, and this was made an excuse by the King of Cananor for breaking with the Portuguese, in which he was greatly encouraged by the Zamorin. De Brito, having discovered his intentions, sent to the Viceroy demanding assistance, and his message was delivered to Dom Francisco at church, whereupon he immediately left, and at once dispatched an expedition for his relief, commanded by Dom Lourenço, but with orders to place himself under de Brito on arriving at his destination. As, however, de Brito was unwilling to take the command whilst Dom Lourenço was there, the latter returned to Cochin. De Brito entrenched himself, and having received intelligence of the intended attack from a nephew of the King of Cananor, who was anxious to gain the friendship of the Portuguese, he was well prepared for it when it was made.

The King of Cananor obtained from the Zamorin twenty-one pieces of cannon, and having entertained the assistance of 40,000 Nairs, he cut off all communication between the town and the fort by a trench, and commenced to besiege the place. Subsequently the attacking force was increased by 20,000 more Nairs who were sent by the Zamorin. De Brito worked hard to complete his defences; and at last, one morning, the besiegers advanced against the fort in twelve columns of 2,000 men each, but were met by such a destructive fire from the Portuguese that they were driven

CHAP V. 1507. back before they reached the walls. The water of the garrison was derived from a well situated a short distance outside the walls, and each time the Portuguese wished to draw water they had to fight for it, until Fernandes, an engineer, hit upon the expedient of mining a passage as far as the well, and so drawing off the supply underground. The Portuguese, after this had been accomplished, made another sally, and filled up the well with earth to hide the device from the enemy. The Moors constructed ramparts of bales of cotton, and against these the ordinary cannon used had but little effect; but the Portuguese planted a large piece of ordnance on their ramparts, and one lucky shot from it sent the cotton-bales flying, and killed no less than twenty-two men. After this no attempt was made to take the fort, and the besiegers hoped to starve out the garrison. The latter were reduced to the greatest straits, and lived on lizards, rats, cats, and other animals. On the 15th August, however, the sea cast up shoals of crabs and prawns, which afforded the garrison some relief, and was looked upon by them as a special intervention by Heaven on their behalf.

A grand final assault on the Portuguese fort was now arranged to take place, both by sea and land, in order to bring the siege to a conclusion before the Onam festival in August. The boats and catamarans were easily driven back by the besieged garrison, but the Nairs gallantly stormed the wall and effected an entrance; so steady, however, was the Portuguese fire that the enemy were soon checked, and they finally retreated. Nearly every one of the little garrison was wounded in that day's fight; and de Brito, to conceal the exhaustion of his resources, kept up a bombardment of the town after the enemy had been repulsed, and destroyed a big mosque in which the Moors had congregated for the Friday service. At this extremity timely succour was at hand, for on 27th August a fleet of eleven ships under Tristão da Cunha arrived from Europe, and their commander, with 300 of

his men, had no difficulty in driving back the besiegers and relieving the place. The King of Cananor then sued for peace, which was granted on terms advantageous to the Portuguese.

The Viceroy accompanied Tristão da Cunha on his return journey as far as Ponani, a town subject to Calicut, where the Moors laded their ships under the shelter of four vessels belonging to the Zamorin, commanded by a Moor named Cutiale. This place was attacked, the people all killed, and the ships in the haven and docks were burnt. In this attack Dom Lourenço was wounded. Though the plunder was of great value, it was all burnt, with the exception of the artillery, which was saved. After this victory the fleet returned to Cananor to take in lading, and Tristão da Cunha set sail for Portugal on 6th December.

The Soldan of Cairo, being deprived of his chief source of revenue by the interference of the Portuguese with the overland trade, fitted out a fleet of twelve ships and 1,500 men, commanded by Mir Hozem, to oppose them in India. On the way he attacked Imbo and killed the Sheikh; he then proceeded to Ioda, which place he also attacked and took a great deal of plunder. Thence he went to Diu to arrange terms with Melique Az for a joint expedition against the Portuguese. This arrangement coming to the knowledge of the Viceroy, he sent Dom Lourenço with eight ships to guard the factories at Cananor and Cochin. Dom Lourenço ran as far as Chaul, where he was well received, and whilst here the Turkish fleet hove in sight at a time when he and his officers were on shore. They immediately hastened to their ships, and made such arrangements to meet the enemy as the shortness of the time permitted. Meanwhile Mir Hozem had already entered the harbour, fully expecting to capture all the Portuguese ships, but these gave him so warm a reception with their guns that he was unable to approach near enough to board them.

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The engagement was hotly carried on by both sides until nightfall, when the respective vessels separated, leaving the issue still indecisive.

The next morning the attack was renewed, and the Portuguese endeavoured to board the enemy's vessels, but only two galleys succeeded in capturing their respective opponents, after having put every man on board to the sword. Dom Lourenço was apparently getting the upper hand, when Melique Az arrived with a large number of small vessels to the assistance of Mir Hozem, whereupon Dom Lourenço sent two galleys and three caravels to hinder their approach, which they succeeded in doing for the time, and the fight continued with great loss on both sides until they were again separated by night.

The Portuguese captains then met in council, and endeavoured to dissuade Dom Lourenço from continuing the contest against such heavy odds; he, however, determined to renew the fight the next morning. Melique Az began the assault, and Dom Lourenço's ship running foul of some stakes in the river-bed, made so much water that she was in danger of sinking. Whilst in this condition a ball broke Dom Lourenço's thigh, whereupon he ordered himself to be set against the main-mast, where he stood encouraging his men, until another ball broke his back. After a vigorous resistance the Moors entered the ship, which soon afterwards sank, and only nineteen of the crew survived, who were taken and sent prisoners to Cambay. After this the rest of the Portuguese fleet went to Cochin, and carried the news of his son's death to the Viceroy.

When Tristão da Cunha, whose arrival in India has been referred to above, sailed from Lisbon on 18th April 1506, he was accompanied by Affonso de Albuquerque, who went out as chief captain over six ships and 400 men. On starting, the latter received from King Dom Manoel secret instructions that on the expiration of three years he was to be Viceroy and Governor of India, and

Dom Francisco de Almeida was then to return to Portugal. In the meanwhile, as will be related in the next chapter, Affonso de Albuquerque visited the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, and succeeded in erecting a fort at Ormuz. Against this, however, several of his captains remonstrated strongly, contending that in so doing he was not serving the interest of the King of Portugal. Their dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the chief captain amounted almost to a mutiny, and three of the dissatisfied captains, Affonso Lopes da Costa, Manoel Telles, and Antonio do Campo, took an opportunity of laying in water and stores and sailing straight to India, without in any way informing Albuquerque of their intentions. On arrival at Cochin they proceeded together to the Viceroy, and laid before him an information against Affonso de Albuquerque with regard to his proceedings at Ormuz. They complained that whereas Dom Manoel had sent them in Albuquerque's company to go with him to Cape Guardafui, and lie in wait there for the ships that went to Mecca laden with spices, Albuquerque had instead made his way to Ormuz, and cruised continually about there, contrary to the advice of them all, carrying on a perfectly unprofitable war; but not content with this, they added, he had began to erect a fortress, although King Dom Manoel had not ordered him to do so; and they, the said captains, when they saw how little this was to the interest of His Majesty, and that he only did it of his own free will, had sent him a remonstrance, which he replied to with very hard words and little courtesy or respect for their position in the service. As he still insisted upon proceeding with the fortress, they sent him a second remonstrance,* which was signed by

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* Whereas it is true that His Highness sent us in his company to these parts to construct a fortress in the island of Çocotora, which the Moors had already made, and which we took from them by force of arms; and after completing it, we went to watch the straits of the Red Sea, that no ships should pass to Mecca laden with spices; but since he has taken this city of Ormuz, and made it tributary to the King, our lord, and established in it a great factory with great peace and mutual agreement, without any need of anything else, he, the chief captain, ought not to take upon himself to build a fortress, for it is very little to the interest of the King and loss of his

CHAP. V Francisco de Tavora, whom they left behind in prison. To this Albuquerque had vouchsafed no reply, but ordered the remonstrance to be placed beneath a gateway A.D. 1507. of the fortress, which they took to mean that he would

material, and risk of the men and artillery remaining in it, in many respects and reasons which he, the chief captain, will not listen to. Nor yet does he heed a certain section of his instructions which says, that if he can build a fortress, he ought to build it in such a position and manner that it may be securely maintained and defended by the men left behind in it. And he ought to take especial care how far it is to the advantage of the King, our lord, and his estate, to build it thus. And the other reasons, in addition to these, we will lay before His Highness, or his Viceroy of India, if necessary. But he ought to bear in mind that the fortress of Çocotora was all this time standing with the greater part of its men ill, and with supplies for three months [only] counting from the time we left it, and the land contains no more supplies except those which may arrive there from abroad, and that there were yet remaining in it many Moors who certainly will endeavour to tamper with the Christians of the land, and incite them against our people, for these Christians, being angry at being robbed of their cattle against their will, for they live by them (and the Moors had never taken their cattle from them), will be inclined to side with them and keep in favour with them, whereby it may fall out that they will cause much trouble to our people. And this fortress, which he, the chief captain, is building here in Ormuz, cannot be completed so as to contain a guard of men and artillery within five months more; and if he, some time during this month of November, does not quit the place, he will not be able to do so for the whole of this year, for the monsoon, favourable for watching the Straits, will be past, and this would be very prejudicial to the interests of the King, our lord, and the fortress of Çocotora would run a great risk of being lost. Therefore, we do request him, on the part of the King, our lord, and of our lord the Viceroy, that he will set out forthwith to supply the said fortress, according to the instructions given by His Highness, and thereafter enter the Straits of the Red Sea. And we do also request him, on the behalf of the said lord, that he will immediately send from here this ship, "Flor de la mar," to the Lord Viceroy, in order to be renovated and not destroyed, inasmuch as the fleet which then remains is sufficient for the watch over the Strait, and in this ship the merchandise, tribute, and ambassadors can be forwarded, which he intends to send to the King, our lord; for it will be safer for anything to go from India than from here. And much more so, as with the merchandise and money he has received by way of tribute, this year the lading of the ships may be remedied (hitherto deficient), owing to the great failure of everything in India, which would be more to the service of the King, our lord, than to send it all to Portugal. And by João da Nova, he can write of the condition wherein this city of Ormuz is, for his lordship to make such provisions thereupon as shall seem to him most beneficial to the affairs of His Highness; since, in his instructions, since he orders him, that upon gaining possession of any kingdom, or any other thing whatsoever, he is to acquaint him immediately with the fact, that he may thereupon make such provision as shall seem best suited to his interest. But if he, the lord captain, be unwilling to perform all these things contained in this requisition, we hereby protest against all the losses, injuries, and diminutions of the material of our lord the King, and state that we are not liable to any blame, for we make this request in good time, whereby all may yet be made good. And of this, with the reply or without it (if he be unwilling to give a reply), you shall give us the said duplicates, with a similar copy of our reply if it be required.—Signed and sealed by us in the port of the City of Ormuz, on the thirteenth of November in the year one thousand five hundred and seven.

tread it underfoot. These captains requested that their depositions might be taken down, and an investigation into their charges against Albuquerque instituted, after which they asked that they might be sent home to Portugal, with proper credentials, in order that they might lay the matter before the King, and demand from His Majesty reparation for the injuries they had suffered, and for the shares of booty taken from them by Albuquerque without any justification or consideration.

The statements made by the captains appear to have been at once accepted by Dom Francisco,* and he accordingly issued a Commission to try the case, notwithstanding that he had no means of ascertaining the other side of the question. The motives for so readily acting upon an *ex parte* statement are generally supposed to have been of a personal nature, and certainly the action was not creditable to the Viceroy.

Whilst this matter was proceeding, there arrived in India Fernão Soarez and Ruy da Cunha, in company with Jorge de Aguiar, who left Portugal in the year 1508 as chief captain of three vessels, under orders to join the fleet at Cape

* I, D Francisco Dalmeida, Viceroy of the Indies for the King, my lord, command you, Gonçalo Fernandez, and Francisco Lamprea, public scrivener and judicial in these parts of India, and Pero Vaz, late scrivener of the caravel S Jorge, and João Saramenho, receiver of the *defuntos*, that you all four open this inquiry (according to the depositions laid before you by Manoel Telez, Affonso Lopez da Costa, and Antonio do Campo) against Affonso de Albuquerque, and prosecute the same by examination in order of certain articles which they will communicate to you; and Gonçalo Fernandez shall conduct the inquiry and the other three of you be scriveners, and the four shall be always present at the taking down of the testimony. And as some of the witnesses are not present, all the testimony shall be taken upon oath before me, and the testimony which they require that is in Cananor shall be sent for and taken down there; and this inquiry shall be conducted in the house of Gonçalo Fernandez, inquisitor, wherein all that is done every day shall remain locked up in a chest with three keys, of which each scrivener shall have one. And you four have now sworn upon oath in my presence, administered to you by Gaspar Pereira, to prosecute this inquiry well and diligently.—Done in Cochim on the twenty-sixth day of the month of May.—Gaspar Pereira drew this up in the year one thousand five hundred and eight

And furthermore I command that, if the witnesses make any additional statements beyond what is contained in the articles, to the advantage of the complainant's cause, you are to write them down; and if any witness (after having given his testimony) shall return and state that he remembers anything more, you are to write this likewise.

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Guardafui and the coast of Ormuz. On arrival at Cochin Jorge de Aguiar handed to Dom Francisco instructions to the effect that, as his three years of office had expired, he was to hand over the government to Affonso de Albuquerque and return to Portugal. This news created great consternation amongst the three insubordinate captains who had deserted Albuquerque, and they did their best to persuade Dom Francisco not to surrender the reins of government to him.

Acting upon the information he received from these captains, Dom Francisco dispatched letters to Seif-al-din, the King of Ormuz, and to Coje Atar, the governor of that place, repudiating the proceedings of Albuquerque. In the letter to Coje Atar he said regarding him, "I also shall chastise as the King shall appoint, that he may learn that wheresoever he shall receive honour, and give a writing on the King's behalf, he ought not to alter it, for the King of Portugal is not a liar, and it is necessary that his captains should not depart from his commands; but as he has departed from them he shall receive his reward." This letter Coje Atar showed to Albuquerque, and he was thus forewarned of the reception that awaited him in India. Albuquerque arrived, with his fleet, at Cananor in the latter part of November, 1508, when he at once paid off his crews, and delivered them over to Dom Francisco. In doing this he complained that although he had spent two years and eight months at sea, conquering the kingdom of Ormuz, in obedience to orders he had received from the King, he had not once during the whole of that time received any favour or help from the Viceroy.

At the time of the arrival of Affonso de Albuquerque, Dom Francisco was getting up a fleet to go against the Rumes who were at Diu, to avenge his son's death, and he was, therefore, not well pleased at the appearance of his successor, whilst the former was also very much annoyed to find the captains who had deserted him at Ormuz treated by the Viceroy with marked consideration. Thence-

forward great dissensions began to arise between these two men. CHAP V.

After the lapse of some days Affonso de Albuquerque went to see the Viceroy, and, in the presence of others, requested him to hand his office over to him in accordance with the King's instructions, adding that they were already at the beginning of December, which was the proper time to start for Lisbon, and that he had the ship "Belem," wherein he could make the voyage in great comfort, and six other ships to convoy her. The Viceroy, however, claimed that the period of his government would not expire until the following month, and promised that he would then resign. Albuquerque thereupon retired, and sent his secretary, Antonio de Sintra, to show to the Viceroy the powers and diploma he held from Dom Manoel. After having read these documents, the Viceroy directed de Sintra to fasten them up again, and to keep them in secret until his return from Diu. Antonio de Sintra having delivered his message, Albuquerque sent him back to the Viceroy with the following instructions: "Tell the Viceroy that, since the disposition of the fleet rests with me, as I am Governor of India, he must deliver it over to me that I may go in search of the Rumes." Other messages passed between them, but when Albuquerque found that the Viceroy, who had gained most of the captains on his side, refused to yield, he embarked in the ship "Cirne," and went to Cochin, where he arrived on 14th December. Here he was visited by Gaspar Pereira and other officers of the factory. Some people advised him to at once assume the title of Captain-General of India, but this he declined to do, in order to avoid any party differences. A.D. 1508.

Both the Viceroy and Albuquerque sent communications to King Dom Manoel, each giving his own version of the dispute between them; and the Viceroy sent to Gaspar Pereira, for communication to Albuquerque at Cochin, a statement of the charges he had preferred against him.

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These, together with Albuquerque's replies, were, according to *The Commentaries*, to the following effect:—

The first charge was that he had delayed sending to him to give up his power which the King had given him, through Antonio de Sintra, in Cananor, and making the request to him which he had made in the presence of Fernão Soarez and Ruy da Cunha, captains of the King. Affonso de Albuquerque replied that he did not comprehend why he should be so alarmed at the request, when he so often told him that the King had written to him to return to Portugal, and deliver over the government of India to himself; what was much more astonishing to him was that he should come to Cananor and find him determined not to deliver it over to him as he had done.

The second charge was that he had quitted Socotra without the King's order, and made his way to India, though he had written to him, through Tristão da Cunha, that His Highness ordered him to take great care of the place, and for this reason he had omitted to send any necessary supplies thither. Affonso de Albuquerque answered that on arriving at Cananor he had stated that the reason of his coming was because the weather did not permit any other voyage, for in the months of November and December one could not run from Ormuz to the island of Socotra, as the winds were south-east and the weather very rough; another thing also which forced him to come to India was the quantity of water which the "Rey Grande" and the "Cirne" made, lest they should be lost; and, moreover, the time was now come wherein the King had ordered him to receive the government of India. And since he demanded so strict an account of what he had done, he first ought to have taken an account from the captains who had deserted their posts in the war, and from Manoel Telles, who had carried off the supplies entrusted to him for carriage to the fortress of Socotra in his ship; but these captains he retained in favour before his eyes. And though he desired very often to give an account of himself in Cananor, yet

the Viceroy would never listen to him or look at his instructions, because in them the King commanded him that if no clause in them bore upon a particular state of affairs, in that case he was to do as would be most advantageous to his interest; and if he was not pleased with his coming to India without the King's orders, how could he, on his part, be pleased with the Viceroy's stay in India and unwillingness to deliver up to him the government of it, not caring to follow his orders and instructions? As for the letter he had forwarded to him through Tristão da Cunha, it was to hand, as well as another, wherein he gave him an account of the flight of his captains, begging him to send back ships and men and other captains; wherein, also, he gave him an account of the state in which he then was; to this one never yet had he seen any reply, nor had he assisted him, as he was obliged to do by virtue of his position as Captain-General of the Indies; but, on the contrary, he had seen his (the Viceroy's) letters to the King and Coje Atar, making use of very dishonourable expressions respecting his own person, holding his labours as of little value, extolling the actions of the captains, and stating his good reception of them.

The third charge made against Affonso de Albuquerque was that he had blockaded Ormuz, and prohibited all communications during the period protected by the safeguard which he had himself agreed upon, and Coje Atar had sent the document to demonstrate this fact to him, but he would not return it to him again. To this Affonso de Albuquerque replied that it was true that during this protected period he had surrounded the island of Ormuz, and not permitted anyone to enter or leave the place, for he was obliged to do so for the safety of his own men and his fleet, and to remain there waiting for the succour and aid of the King Dom Manoel, for in the letters which he had found in Ormuz, on his return from Socotra, directed to Coje Atar, he had indeed perceived how much help he was likely to give him. Gaspar Rodriguez, the inter-

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preter, was a true witness to a letter which Coje Atar had shown him, sealed with the arms of the King of Portugal, which was of no other import than to destroy all his labours, and spoke of himself as if he were a corsair, banished from the kingdom. When Coje Atar perceived how little value was set upon him, like a cunning man, he understood how matters lay, and knew how to take advantage of the opportunity, and it was not a thing likely to terrify him that some members of his company were telling him that he had done imprudently to humour him, since the captains who had so deserted him with the complaint that they were not satisfied with the way the war was carried on, and that he had ordered them to fill their freights, had come to be well treated by him; and those who had protected him and accompanied him in all his troubles and fortunes, like very true and faithful cavaliers, had found their prospects unimproved and their cargoes not laden. And if Coje Atar wished to reap the advantage of this armistice, which he (Albuquerque) offered him, he, on his part, as was reasonable to expect, would be insured by Coje Atar; but he would desire that Coje Atar would keep to the arrangement, and he desired him to stop the discharge of arrows, for he was chief captain of the King of Portugal, in whose name the armistice had been entered into.

The fourth charge was that Coje Atar had sent, desiring of him a mutual order and assignation for an interview, and that he would not grant it. Affonso replied that he did not remember whether he had sent it him or not, and even if it were so, it was not right that it should have been given, for the order was for himself, concerning his proper duty according to circumstances, and that he had to give account to the King D. Manoel of what he had done, because he acted under his directions. And above all, he had given him a translation, signed and sealed, and an account of the manner in which his order had been received. Because, if perchance the ships and men sent thither by the King D. Manoel to help him had gone to

seek him according to the orders promulgated when he first left Portugal, they would have known, on arriving at Ormuz, of the events that had taken place there.

The fifth charge was that he had taken a slave away from a Moorish merchant of Ormuz against his will Affonso de Albuquerque replied that this was not so, but that a caravan of merchants had come from Persia to Ormuz, and a Moor brought in company with him a Christian youth from Ruxia, who, on seeing our ships, fled, and managed to reach them; and the Moor had demanded the surrender of the youth, but he was unwilling to give him up, because he was a Christian, and he would not return with him, but for all that he had not remained in slavery, and it was not likely that such a man as he (Affonso de Albuquerque) was would enslave a youth who had put himself under his protection under the name of a Christian.

And because Gaspar Pereira, besides these statements, told Affonso de Albuquerque other things which the Viceroy had ordered him to say by word of mouth—one of which was that he was to pay him all due to him for the time he was in India—Affonso de Albuquerque replied that he should make answer to the Viceroy that at the court of the King of Portugal, whither both of them were proceeding, there was no place for tricks and artifices to entice him to sell his honour and personal dignity, but that he trusted, with God's help, to perform such services in those parts for the King, our lord, whereby he might merit the favours of other titles more noble than that of Viceroy.

After dispatching the trading ships on their homeward voyage under Fernão Soarez and Ruy da Cunha, both of whom perished on the way, the Viceroy sailed from Cananor towards Diu, in pursuit of Mir Hozem, accompanied by a fleet of nineteen vessels and 1,600 soldiers and sailors, of whom 400 were Malabarese. They went first of all to Anjediva, and from thence proceeded to Dabhol, then a place of great trade and considerable wealth,

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with the intention of attacking it. The Portuguese fleet entered this port on the 30th December, and at their approach the garrison was increased and every preparation made to meet an attack. The Portuguese at once landed, and dividing themselves into three bodies, attacked the three gates of the city simultaneously. These were all defended with desperate valour. Whilst the attack was proceeding the Viceroy sent Nuno Vaz Pereira to gain entrance by another way, which he succeeded in doing in spite of a resolute resistance. The enemy seeing themselves thus taken in flank at once broke and fled, some to the mosque and others to the mountains. The fight lasted about five hours, during which 1,500 of the defenders were killed, but only sixteen Portuguese. The next morning the Viceroy gave leave to plunder, but this was hindered by the firing of the town, and in a few hours it was reduced to a heap of ashes. The booty taken only amounted to 150,000 ducats. It was afterwards ascertained that the Viceroy had ordered the town to be destroyed, fearing that if his soldiers realized too great riches they might be unwilling to follow him in carrying out his further designs.

The ships in the harbour fared the same fate as the town. The fleet left Dabhol on the 5th January, 1509, and captured a Turkish galley, in which was a beautiful Hungarian lady, who subsequently married Diogo Pereira of Cochin. Further on, a barque from Guzerat was taken in the river of Bombay, and from it the Portuguese obtained provisions, of which they had then run short. On arrival at Mahim, on the 21st January, the people, terrified at what had taken place at Dabhol, fled from the fort to the mountains, and the fleet was therefore enabled to land for wood and other supplies without opposition. After this the expedition went on to Diu, arriving there on the 2nd February, 1509, where Melique Az and Mir Hozem had prepared a fleet of 200 vessels to resist the expected attack.

The Viceroy held a council with his captains, at which

the plan of attack was fully arranged. Between nine and ten o'clock the next morning the signal was given for entering the port, and a general engagement took place between the Portuguese vessels and those of the enemy. During the fight Mir Hozem was wounded, who, leaving his ship, went ashore to convey the news of the engagement to the King of Cambay. The victory of the Portuguese was complete, and having plundered the enemy's ships and taken from them a rich booty, all were burnt with the exception of four ships and two galleys, which the Viceroy ordered to be preserved. The colours of the Soldan and of Mir Hozem which were captured were sent to Portugal. The Viceroy made no attempt to attack the town, which appeared to be too strong for the limited force then at his disposal.

After this Melique Az, who had assisted Mir Hozem with his vessels, but had not himself been present at the engagement, sent a messenger to the Viceroy to congratulate him on his victory, hoping, by so doing, to disguise the fact of his having been in any way a party to the engagement, and to save himself from the vengeance of the Portuguese. The Viceroy, knowing the deceitfulness of Melique Az, nevertheless received his messenger courteously, and informed him that the objects of his visit to Diu were, first, to be revenged on the Rumes, which he had now accomplished, and, secondly, to recover the Portuguese who had been taken prisoners when his son was killed. He therefore demanded that these should now be delivered to him, together with all the artillery and munitions belonging to the Rumes that were in the ships in the harbour, and that the ships themselves should be burnt. He also demanded that provisions should be sold to him. All this having been complied with, Dom Francisco retired with his fleet, and on the way back made Nizamaluco, King of Chaul, tributary to the Crown of Portugal. He first demanded of him the payment of 30,000 cruzados at once, and an annual tribute of 10,000

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cruzados, but Nizamaluco was only in a position to give him 2,000 cruzados, and he had therefore to be content with that amount.

The Viceroy next called in at Cananor, where he was received with much honour, and letters against the proceedings of Albuquerque were handed to him. He then set forth again at once, arriving at Cochin in a triumphant manner on the 8th March, 1509, fully determined not to surrender the reins of government, in which resolution he was supported by the captains who had fled from Ormuz, and by others whom these had gained to their side. Upon the earliest opportunity, however, Dom Francisco was again requested by Affonso de Albuquerque to deliver up the government to him, but he evaded doing so, and at a meeting with certain officers shortly afterwards he threatened to "imprison any man, even though he be one of the best in India, who sides with his (Albuquerque's) statements and demands." Notwithstanding this menace, however, Gaspar Pereira, who had been nominated by the King to act as scrivener to Affonso de Albuquerque, had the courage to support his master's claim.

Whilst these differences were going on between the Viceroy and his successor, it appears that no provision had been made at the factory for obtaining pepper for lading. This was brought to the notice of the Viceroy by Gaspar Pereira, who also said that the King of Cochin had refused to deliver any, making the excuse that he had none to give. This was attributed by Jorge Barreto, in the presence of Dom Francisco, to the actions of the friends and supporters of Affonso de Albuquerque. The Viceroy accordingly sent instructions to Albuquerque that he should cease to hold meetings in his house, and he subsequently sent orders that he was not to stir forth out of his house, nor to hold communication with the King of Cochin, nor with his officers. This latter injunction was laid upon Albuquerque in consequence of its having come to the knowledge of Dom Francisco that the King of

Cochin viewed with dismay the differences that then existed amongst the Portuguese, and contemplated sending an ambassador to Portugal to inform Dom Manoel of the manner in which Affonso de Albuquerque was being kept out of his appointment as Governor of India.

At this time Diogo Lopes de Sequeira arrived from Portugal as chief captain of four ships which Dom Manoel had sent out for the discovery of Malacca. In order the more fully to justify the retention of his office, the Viceroy arranged with some of his confidential officers, the chief amongst whom were Jorge Barreto and João da Nova, that they should present him with a requisition urging him not to resign his office, for he was afraid that the King of Cochin, who espoused the cause of Affonso de Albuquerque, would write to the King of Portugal on the subject. As soon as this requisition had been fully signed, a council was summoned, and in the presence of this assembly Jorge Barreto presented it to the Viceroy, and requested him, in the name of all who were there, not to deliver India to Affonso de Albuquerque until Dom Manoel should have been informed of the wickedness and tyrannies he had committed in the kingdom of Ormuz, which were all set out in articles which were also laid before the Viceroy. This document was next shown to the King of Cochin, and, in order to obtain his support, he was informed that Albuquerque was in secret communication with the Zamorin, and intended to establish a factory in Calicut as soon as he should have obtained the government. The King of Cochin, however, refused to have anything to do with the matter, and gave it as his opinion that it was wrong of the Viceroy not to give up the government in accordance with the commands of the King of Portugal.

Several who had taken part in these proceedings became speedily aware of the error they had committed, and sent to ask the forgiveness of Albuquerque, excusing

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themselves on the plea that they had done so simply out of dread of dishonouring the Viceroy. In order to still further strengthen his position, Almeida gave instructions that a general indictment should be drawn up against Albuquerque, and he wrote to Coje Atar requesting that, should he have any complaints to make against that officer, he would send some person to prefer the accusation, promising that he would see full justice done. The indictment having been drawn up, the Viceroy delivered it to Antonio de Sintra to keep until the arrival of the next ships from Portugal. Albuquerque became aware of these proceedings, and knew that the Viceroy was desirous of ensnaring him in some difficulties. To avoid this, therefore, he adopted the precaution of not venturing out of his house, and by the general judiciousness of his actions on the occasion he probably avoided a crisis which could not but have been very detrimental to the interests of Portugal in India. Feeling now ran very high between the partisans of these two men, and João da Nova and Jorge Barreto having reported to the Viceroy certain words used by João de Christus (a brother of the Order of Saint Eloi), from which they, interpreting them to suit their own purpose, alleged that Albuquerque must have resolved upon some such act of treason as to seize the fort of Cochin and put Jorge Barreto to death, the Viceroy ordered João de Christus to be loaded with irons and placed in solitary confinement in a cellar in that fortress. This coming to the knowledge of Affonso de Albuquerque, he proceeded to the Viceroy, and pleaded for the release of the man. At this interview a serious altercation took place between the two, and the Viceroy subsequently gave orders for a strong guard to be placed over the fortress of Cochin, and issued a proclamation to the effect that no one should carry arms, either by night or by day, excepting his own servants, and the captains, and some persons specially licensed to do so. He also ordered the arrest of Gaspar Pereira and Ruy de Aranjo,

who were to be placed in irons and confined in the fortress, and that the houses in which they had lived should be thrown down and razed to the ground. CHAP. V. A.D. 1509.

The enemies of Albuquerque further endeavoured to obtain information from his confessor, Francisco, a friar of the Order of Avis, which should compromise him before the Viceroy; but in this respect they totally failed. They next tried to corrupt Duarte de Sousa, who lived at Albuquerque's table, but with no greater success than with the friar. Being frustrated in these attempts, they next entered into a conspiracy with Antonio do Campo, who was well versed in the Malabarese language, and concocted, with him, a letter from the Prince of Calicut to Affonso de Albuquerque, and his reply thereto, inserting in it many malicious fabrications, with the view of compromising the latter in the eyes of the Viceroy. This correspondence, it was arranged, should fall into the hands of Almeida, who immediately ordered the arrest of Albuquerque. On the same day he was taken on board the vessel of Martim Coelho, who had orders to carry with him only three servants for his attendance, and to deliver him over to Lourenço de Brito, captain of the fortress at Cananor, who was to place him in the tower, and keep a good guard over him. The Viceroy further ordered the houses which Albuquerque had occupied to be thrown down, and took out of them everything that was found there.

These proceedings naturally caused great consternation in the minds of the King of Cochin and of his people. But, besides this indignity offered to Affonso de Albuquerque, the Viceroy further ordered that Ruy de Aranjo and Nuno Vaz de Castelo-branco should proceed with Lopez de Sequeira to Malacca, and thence to Portugal, on the ground that they also were implicated in these matters concerning Affonso de Albuquerque.

On the 29th October, 1509, Marshal Dom Fernando Coutinho, a nephew of Albuquerque, arrived at Cananor

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as chief captain of a fleet of fifteen sail, carrying with him instructions to deliver over all the provisions and specie which he carried to Albuquerque as Captain-General of India. He therefore was very much surprised to find him a prisoner, and immediately ordered his release. As his time in India was short, he re-embarked the following morning, and took Albuquerque with him to Cochin, whither he was immediately afterwards followed by Lourenço de Brito. On the following morning the Marshal and Affonso de Albuquerque disembarked, when they were met, on landing, by the Viceroy and all the members of his party. On the morning of Saturday, 4th November, the Marshal visited the Viceroy at the fortress, and endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between him and Albuquerque, but to this the latter would not assent.

Dom Francisco de Almeida realised now that he could no longer retain the office of Viceroy, and he accordingly at once surrendered the government to Albuquerque, and on the following day, 5th November 1509, he retired on board the ship "Garça," in which he sailed for Cananor on 10th November, and with him there went Jorge Barreto, Antonio do Campo, Manoel Telles, and others who had taken prominent part with him against Albuquerque.

The "Garça," with two other ships, left Cananor on 19th November, and made a fair passage to the Cape of Good Hope; but soon after doubling the Cape they put into the bay of Saldanha to take water. Here some of the men went on shore to barter goods with the natives, when a servant of the Viceroy so ill-treated two of them that they knocked out his teeth. Some gentlemen who witnessed this affront persuaded the Viceroy to go ashore to avenge his servant. This he somewhat unwillingly assented to, and taking with him 150 picked men, he pursued the natives for some distance, until they came to a village, where they captured some cattle and children. As they were returning they were attacked by a party of 170 blacks, who came down from the mountain, with such

fury that in a very short space of time they had killed some fifty of the Portuguese, including Francisco de Almeida, who died kneeling on the sand, struck through the throat by a dart. The rest of the Portuguese retreated to their ships, but as soon as the natives had retired they went back to the shore and buried Almeida and those who had fallen with him, and then returned to Lisbon, carrying with them the news of Almeida's death, which was received there with great grief and sorrow.

There can be no doubt but the hostility of Almeida towards Affonso de Albuquerque arose, to a great extent, from a misappreciation of his real character, and the entertainment by him of very different views as to how the administration of Indian affairs should be conducted to those held by Albuquerque. Almeida fully recognised the importance of destroying the Moorish trade in order that the commerce of India should be monopolised by the Portuguese, but he entertained no ambitious designs of territorial aggrandisement, and failed to realise the importance of erecting fortifications of defence against enemies on shore. His views generally were pacific, and his administration, so far as the trade itself was concerned, was fairly successful. His greatest mistake was in receiving the captains who had deserted Albuquerque at Ormuz with favour instead of disgracing them. The fact that he did not himself approve of the reduction of Ormuz was no sufficient justification for honouring those who had been guilty of the grossest breach of discipline. Having, however, made this first false step, it is easy to understand that he should have allowed his judgment to be biassed by those men, and thereby to have formed an entirely erroneous view of Albuquerque's abilities. He constantly referred to Albuquerque as a "fool" and a "madman," and there can be little doubt but that he actually did bring his mind to consider him unfit to administer the affairs of the Indian trade in a manner best calculated to benefit the State. But the manner in

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which he lent himself to a scheme of deception in order, apparently, to justify his refusal to surrender the reins of government to his duly-appointed successor, showed a degree of moral cowardice in his character which would have entirely unfitted him for the position of Viceroy in those more troublous times that occurred in later years.

CHAPTER VI.

Expeditions under Tristão da Cunha and Affonso de Albuquerque—Discovery of Madagascar—Sack of Angoxa—Destruction of Braboa—Capture of the Fortress of Socotra—Establishment of a Portuguese Settlement there—Departure of Albuquerque for Ormuz—Attacks on Kuriyat and Muscat—Subjection of Sohar—Attack on Ormuz—Establishment of a Factory there—Insubordination of certain Captains—Attack on Kalhāt—Arrival of Albuquerque in India—Expeditions under Jorge de Mello Pereira, Jorge de Aguiar, and Dom Fernando Coutinho.

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THE year after the departure of Dom Francisco de Almeida from Lisbon, the King sent out another expedition of sixteen ships, the command of which he entrusted to Tristão da Cunha, who was now restored to health, and with him he sent Affonso de Albuquerque. The instructions given to da Cunha were to proceed to the island of Socotra, and there construct a fort, which, while protecting the Christians reported by Diogo Fernandes Peteyra to be inhabiting that island, should also serve as a depôt for the use of the fleets destined to oppose the Egypto-Venetian confederacy and to blockade the Red Sea. On the completion of the fort, da Cunha was to proceed to India with his share of the fleet, leaving Albuquerque with a squadron of six ships and 400 men, to attack Jedda and Aden, and to obstruct the Moorish trade. Albuquerque, as has been already stated, carried with him secret instructions that on the expiration of three years he was to be Governor of India, and the Viceroy, Dom Francisco de Almeida, was to return to Portugal. Tristão da Cunha sailed from Belem with his fleet on the 18th of April, 1506, and Affonso de Albuquerque followed the next day, after having received from the King a flag of white satin, with a crimson-and-white twisted silk fringe, having a cross of Christus in the centre of crimson satin.

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The following is a list of the captains of this expedition, and in some instances the names of their ships are given:—

Tristão da Cunha, in the "Espirito Sancto"; Alvaro Telles Barreto, in the "S. Vincente"; João Gomes de Abreu, in the "Luz"; Leonel Coutinho, in the "Leitoa Nova"; Ruy Pereira, Ruy Dias Pereira, Job Queimado, Alvaro Fernandes, João da Veiga, Tristão Roiz, Tristão Alvares, Affonso de Albuquerque, in the "Cerne"; João da Nova, in the "Flor de la mar"; Francisco de Tavora, in the "Rey Grande"; Manoel Telles Barreto, in the "Rey Pequeno"; Affonso Lopes da Costa, in the "S. Jorge" transport; and Antonio do Campo in the caravel "Espriito Sancto."

The fleet put in at the port of Biziquiche, whence da Cunha sent back the caravel to Lisbon, in which he placed those of his crew who were sick, with news of their safety. After passing the latitude of Ascension they discovered some islands not hitherto known, in the South Atlantic, to which they gave the name of "Tristão da Cunha." Here a violent storm arose, which separated the vessels, but they all met again at Mozambique, except Alvaro Telles and Ruy Pereira. The former had doubled the island of S. Lourenço (Madagascar) by the outer passage, and stood over to Melinde, whence he proceeded to Cape Guardafui, and the latter went into a harbour in the island of S. Lourenço, called Tanana, where he remained some days, getting information about the land, as it was then first discovered, and from thence he went to Mozambique, taking with him two negroes, who accompanied him of their own accord.

As it was now too late in the season to cross over to India, da Cunha determined to remain at Mozambique to refit. Whilst here Ruy Pereira arrived and informed da Cunha of the discovery he had made, whereupon the latter fitted out an expedition to explore this new country, of which he assumed command. After a con-

sultation, da Cunha determined to double by its north point, but as this was against his advice, Albuquerque determined not to have anything to do with the enterprise. On sighting the land, a small zambuco with two Moors was taken, who conducted the Portuguese to a place of the Moors not far off. Here they landed, and having killed several Moors without the slighest provocation or justification, and set the place on fire, they proceeded to Lulangane, which place traded with Melinde and Mombassa in cloths, silver, and gold. On an island in the bay was the residence of the King of the place, whom da Cunha attacked, and having landed, he had all the Moors found there put to the sword. The town was then sacked by the Portuguese, and after staying there three days taking in water and provision, they again embarked, and endeavoured to double the headland, but were unable to do so owing to adverse winds and currents. Da Cunha therefore turned back, and was directed by the two Moors he had taken to a place called Zada, which was the principal place of trade on that coast with Melinde, Mombassa, and Magadoxo. Here the Portuguese landed, whereupon the Cafre inhabitants all fled into the woods.

Affonso de Albuquerque considering all this as mere waste of time, and not in accordance with the object for which the expedition was sent out, remonstrated with da Cunha, contending that the fleet ought at once to proceed to Cape Guardafui to watch for the Moorish ships coming from India laden with spices, and to erect a fort at Socotra. This advice did not harmonise with da Cunha's views, who desired to complete his exploration of the island of S. Lourenço. He therefore placed the majority of the fleet at Albuquerque's disposal, giving him supreme authority over the other captains, and allowed him to proceed on his intended voyage. Albuquerque accordingly went with his vessels at once to Mozambique to refit, where he was joined by the rest of the squadron. After his departure, da Cunha sent three ships round to

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Matatane, where was clove, ginger, and silver. One of these vessels, of which Ruy Pereira was captain, was lost, and only the pilot and seven men were saved whereupon he seems to have given up any further examination of the island and followed Albuquerque to Mozambique. Here they found João da Nova, whose ship, the "Flor de la mar," had sprung a large leak. The cargo had to be removed, and was placed in a merchant ship which da Cunha purchased for the purpose. The "Flor de la mar," after being repaired, was placed under the command of Antonio de Saldanha, and sent back to Portugal. On his way back Saldanha discovered a very favourable watering-place for ships, which he called after his own name. It was here that Dom Francisco de Almeida was killed on his way home from India.

After having repaired his vessels, Tristão da Cunha proceeded with all his remaining ships to Melinde to pay his respects to the King of that place, and to present him with a gift from the King of Portugal. He also offered his services for anything that His Majesty might demand of him. The King of Melinde expressed his great gratitude to the King of Portugal, and requested that, before he left those parts, da Cunha would take vengeance on the Kings of Mombassa and Angoxa, who were his chief enemies. In taking leave of the King, da Cunha promised to execute his demands, and then embarked. Affonso de Albuquerque, before leaving, informed the King that he had with him a fleet to conquer Ormuz and all that coast of Arabia which was not yet known to the Portuguese pilots. His Majesty thereupon ordered him to be furnished with pilots who knew the harbours of Arabia, and the governors accordingly gave him the three principal pilots of the country.

The fleet then proceeded to Angoxa,* the people of

* The city of Angoxa was very large, peopled with Moors who traded with Sofala and the places along that coast. There were no houses of stone and mortar in it except the King's mansions. It was entirely surrounded with many gardens and fruit-trees, which made it very luxuriant; its bay was very good, and afforded capital anchorage; it was situated on the edge of the sea and unfortified. The King was a Moorish merchant who came from abroad, but as he was very rich he had made himself lord of all that land.

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which place refused permission for some of the Portuguese crews to go ashore, whereupon da Cunha headed a boat expedition, and having forced a landing, all the people fled with their wives, and as much of their goods as they could carry, into the interior of the country. Thus when the Portuguese arrived in the town they found it deserted, whereupon da Cunha gave permission to the men to sack the city, and then ordered it to be set on fire. So rapid was the spread of the flames that many who were engaged in plundering the houses experienced some difficulty in escaping from the flames.

After this the Portuguese embarked again, and ran along the coast to the city of Braboa,* where also the natives made a hostile demonstration when a boat from the fleet attempted to land. Da Cunha accordingly determined to chastise the people of the place as he had done at Angoxa; but, when he was preparing to land a force, two old Moors from Calicut, who were then residing at Braboa, so impressed upon the King the power of the Portuguese, and his inability to resist them, that he sent one of his principal governors to make his excuses to da Cunha on account of the people having refused to allow one of his captains to land, and to express his desire to have peace and friendship with the King of Portugal. On delivering his message da Cunha replied that he was chief captain of the King of Portugal, who had sent him with the orders to make stern war against, and destroy all the kings and lords who, unwilling to be friends and tributaries, were established along the coast that was of his conquering. Because the King of Angoxa had not complied with this demand he had destroyed him; and so also he was determined to do with the King of Braboa, unless he was willing to obey the King of Portugal and pay him tribute. On the other

* Braboa was a large city with very good houses of stone and mortar. It was situated on the water's edge with an unprotected anchorage in front, having no harbour. It was peopled with native Moors who traded with Sofala and other places along the coast. Here also ships arrived from Cambay laden with stuffs, sandal-wood, and rosewater, which they exchanged for gold and other products of the country. By means of inland water communication Braboa carried on a large trade with Manamotapa, and many other inland places.

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hand, if willing to become his vassal, he would serve him with his fleet against his enemies, as he had done for the King of Melinde. The King of Braboa replied that to send to him for tribute was not desiring friendship with him, but seeking reasons for quarrelling if he did not grant what was demanded of him, for he had never been tributary to any king, but rather, on the contrary, those of that coast endeavoured to secure his friendship. As this demand was something new he asked for three or four days' delay to enable him to consult with his merchants on this subject. This da Cunha refused to grant, and demanded an answer by the following day. At the expiration of the time of grace, the King's messenger returned, but without any definite reply, whereupon da Cunha, perceiving that the delay was evidently but an attempt to gain time, ordered the messenger to be tied to a stake, and under a threat of throwing him into the sea with a cannon-ball round his neck, extracted from him the fact that at that season of the year a wind arises off Braboa which they call the "*Vara de Coromandel*," which comes so suddenly and so fiercely as to destroy any vessel riding in those roads, and it was in the hope of this speedily breaking upon the fleet that encouraged the King to cause these delays.

Da Cunha, having received this explanation, resolved to attack the city on the morrow, and accordingly before daybreak he made preparations for a landing, expecting to take the place by surprise; but the King, fearing that something had happened to prevent his messenger from bringing back any reply, ordered the beach to be watched all night; so that by the time the Portuguese arrived near the shore a number of Moors had collected to oppose their landing. Their resistance was, however, soon overcome, and many were slain, whereupon the remainder fled to the city closely followed by the Portuguese. At the entrance to the city the Moors made a stand and killed four or five Portuguese, wounding also Antonio de Sá in the face with

an arrow. Others coming up, they entered the city after the fugitives, and many were wounded by women throwing down stones upon them from the terraces. The Moors made a stand in a large square containing a mosque, but they were attacked so vigorously that they soon turned their backs and fled out of the city, followed by their women laden with household goods. These the Portuguese came up with, took from them what they carried, and killed many.

Da Cunha now recalled his men, and returning to the square he attacked the mosque, killing all who had taken refuge there, and in entering it was wounded in the leg by an arrow. After this he first received knighthood at the hand of Affonso de Albuquerque, and he then knighted his son Nuno da Cunha and many other Fidalgos. Da Cunha then proceeded to the King's palace, from which he took much money and many valuable and rich things, which he divided among the captains and noble persons of the fleet. Then, having summoned his men to re-embark, he had the city set on fire in four different parts

It had been the intention of da Cunha to have next proceeded to Magadoxo and attack that place, but being advised by his pilots that the season was now too far advanced, and that if he delayed much longer he would be unable to double the shallows of "S. Lazarus," he ordered the course to be shaped direct for Socotra, and anchored off Soco, the principal port of that island. Here, to his surprise, he found that the Moors had erected a strong fortress, surrounded with wall and barbican, and with a keep. After a consultation with his captains, da Cunha sent Pero Vaz de Orta, with Gaspar Rodriguez as interpreter, to summon the captain of the fortress to surrender it to the King of Portugal, as otherwise he would take it by force and not leave one Moor alive in it. To this message the captain of the fortress returned a defiant reply, and arrangements were accordingly made to attack the place. The intention had been to have landed near a palm-grove,

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a short distance from the fort, but this being discovered, a stockade had been rapidly constructed there by the Moors. Tristão da Cunha, however, landed there with part of the forces, and Affonso de Albuquerque, with others, gained the shore opposite to the fort. This latter party had a hand-to-hand encounter with the enemy, in which the captain of the fortress and several others were killed, whereupon the remainder retired towards the fort, and some fled to the mountains. The Portuguese then began an attack on the fort, in which Affonso de Albuquerque was struck on the helmet with a large piece of stone, and fell to the ground much hurt. He, however, did not lose consciousness, and was soon up again directing the men under him. The entrance-gate having been battered in, several Portuguese went in that way, whilst others gained entrance by scaling the walls, whereupon the Moors gathered together at the tower gate.

In the meanwhile Tristão da Cunha had overcome the resistance offered to his landing, and chased the Moors who had opposed him up to near the fortress; but when they saw that place surrounded by Albuquerque's force, and that they were thus cut off from entering, they fled to the mountains for escape. The united forces now pressed an attack on the tower, in which some twenty-five Moors had taken refuge. They being so few in number, da Cunha offered them safe conduct if they would retire peaceably; but this they declined, and the attack was continued until after several hours' fighting the tower was entered, and all the Moors therein were put to the sword, with the exception of one man who surrendered and was made prisoner. On the morning of the next day da Cunha went, with all the men, in procession to a neighbouring mosque, and as it was to be the principal church, he named it "Our Lady of the Victory," wherein Fr. Antonio do Loureiro, of the Order of S. Francis, said mass.

The next act of Tristão da Cunha was to issue a verbal proclamation to the Christians of the island, inviting them

to return to Soco. This they gladly did, with many expressions of gratitude to da Cunha for liberating them from the thraldom of the Moors.

Great quantities of stone and mortar having been collected, da Cunha next set to work to build a fortress, which was finished in a very short time, and when it was completed he named it "S. Michael," and appointed Dom Affonso de Noronha to the command of it. As the time for his departure for India was now drawing near, da Cunha handed over to Affonso de Albuquerque six ships, with men, supplies, artillery, and all other necessaries for the protection of those parts, and with instructions to provide the fortress with all it might require. Tristão da Cunha then sailed to India with four ships on 10th August, 1507, and having taken in cargoes there he returned to Portugal.

Affonso de Albuquerque first turned his attention to the internal administration of the island. He divided the palm-groves which the Moors had there amongst the native Christians, and those which had belonged to the mosque he now gave to the churches. Having done this, he sailed on the 10th of August, 1507, accompanied by Francisco de Tavora, of the "Rey Grande," João da Nova, Manoel Telles Barreto, Affonso Lopes da Costa, of the "Taforea," and Antonio do Campo. Affonso de Albuquerque had, no doubt, at once perceived the uselessness of Socotra for the purpose intended, and was well aware that his flotilla was too small for him to attempt the capture of Aden. He therefore thought fit, after the departure of Tristão da Cunha, to deviate somewhat from his instructions, and sailed away to the north-east, intent upon the capture of Ormuz, then the chief emporium of commerce in the Persian Gulf, and which, by giving him the entire command of the Persian Gulf route, would be of greater service to his King than the temporary blockade of the Red Sea and the bombardment of Jedda. The fleet accordingly left Soco on the 10th of August, and passed the Curia Muria Islands on the 14th, where they had a

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narrow escape from shipwreck, owing to the haze being very thick and the pilots slightly out of their reckonings. They, however, proceeded onwards with great caution, and having arrived near Ras-el-Had, they saw three Moorish fishing-boats, which they chased but did not capture. The fleet then anchored off Ras-el-Had, in which port they found thirty or forty fishing-ships from Ormuz, Kalhāt, and other places on the coast; these they burnt. They then set sail again, and on the way burnt some zambucos they found in a river. Proceeding onwards, they cast anchor opposite the city of Kalhāt, which lies between Ras-el-Had and Muscat. At this time Kalhāt was an important centre of trade, and a great entrepôt of shipping from India; it was a dependency of the King of Ormuz. The chief people expressed themselves friendly to the Portuguese, and permitted them to purchase provisions for the fleet; they also expressed their willingness to become tributary to Portugal, even should the King of Ormuz refuse to do so himself. Here Albuquerque took in supplies for his fleet, all of which he insisted upon paying for, although they were offered by the *gazil* as a free gift. Discovering a ship of Aden in the port, he ordered it to be seized, but at the request of the *gazil*, or governor, he permitted it afterwards to be ransomed. Leaving here on the 22nd August, the fleet proceeded, keeping in sight of land, past Icce, until they came to Kuriyat, where they cast anchor some little distance from the shore. After a consultation with his captains, Albuquerque determined to destroy this place. The Moors here refused to hold any communications with the Portuguese, and greeted their approach to the shore with hostile gestures. They had already erected a stockade in front of the place, which was fully manned with archers, and provided with four large mortars; and lower down was another stockade, in form like a bastion. Seeing all these prepar tions for defence, Albuquerque ordered the falconets th , were in his boat to be fired on them, and

then retired to the ships. The Moors returned the fire from their mortars. During the night Albuquerque sent a body of men, who fortified themselves on a small island near the shore. The next morning Albuquerque landed with a body of men, and making a vigorous attack upon the stockade, captured it without much loss, killing all the Moors—men, women, and children—whom he found there. He then fortified himself in the stockade, whilst provisions were collected for the fleet, and he ordered his flag to be set up on the dome of the mosque, and ten men to be placed there to watch the surrounding country. As soon as the supplies were collected, and as much spoil as they could carry away, he ordered the place to be set on fire, and the whole city, including the mosque, was burnt to the ground. He ordered, also, that they should cut off the ears and noses of the Moors who were captured there, and then sent them away to Ormuz to bear witness to their disgrace. In this place they captured twenty-five pieces of artillery, and a great quantity of bows, arrows, lances, and other arms; and thirty-eight ships, great and small, were burnt.

From Kuriyat Albuquerque went to Muscat, then the principal port on that coast. On anchoring before the place two noble Moors waited upon him as a deputation from the rulers of the city, and implored him to do the place no injury, as they were willing to be the vassals of the King of Portugal; but, as they came provided with no written credentials, Albuquerque dismissed them without any definite reply, and gave them permission to see him again on the subject on the morrow. An examination of the place showed that a heavily-armed stockade had already been erected for its defence. On the next day the two Moors returned to treat for peace; they agreed to become vassals of the King of Portugal, and to pay to him the dues they had hitherto paid to the King of Ormuz; they also agreed on that occasion to provide the fleet with all the supplies they required, but they declined

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to keep it provisioned so long as it should remain at Ormuz, as Albuquerque had demanded. At this reply Albuquerque was greatly enraged, and he so frightened the envoys by his anger that they ultimately conceded all his demands. The next day supplies were sent to the fleet in great quantities, but the following day no more were sent on board. This, it was speedily ascertained, was due to the fact that during the night a reinforcement of 10,000 men had arrived in the town from the interior, and the Moors thought they were now in a position to defy the Portuguese, and they accordingly assumed a hostile demeanour towards them. Albuquerque thereupon ordered two of his ships to stand in nearer to the shore and to bombard the town, intending to attack it the next morning.

The attack was made before daylight, two parties landing simultaneously at opposite ends of the stockade, one led by Albuquerque himself and the other by Francisco de Tavora and Affonso Lopes da Costa. The Moors resisted the attack with great obstinacy, but had ultimately to yield before the persistent assaults of the Portuguese. The Moors then retired into the town, and the two companies of the Portuguese having united, they formed into one battalion, and marching to the attack, fell on the Moors so fiercely that they were speedily driven out of the town. They then pursued them to some distance beyond, killing all men, women, and children they came up with. Upon returning to the town Albuquerque put to the sword all he found there, irrespective of sex or age, without giving any quarter. Having secured himself against a sudden attack by fortifying himself in the Moors' stockade, he gave permission to his men to sack the town. After this a Moor arrived with a white flag, and asked Albuquerque not to burn the town, which request he agreed to, provided they sent him 10,000 *xerafins* of gold before noon next day. This not being forthcoming at the appointed hour he had the place set